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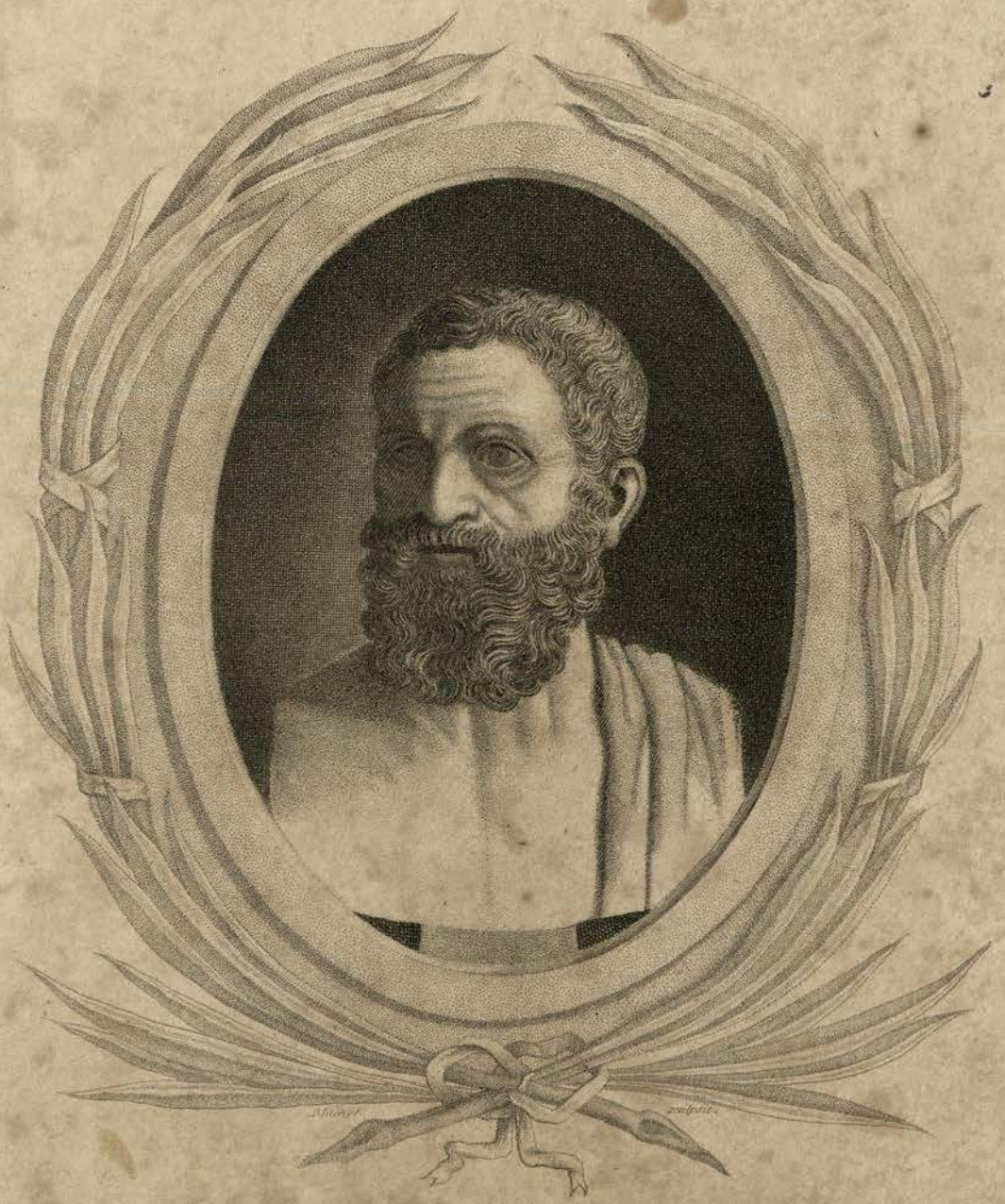
THE

WORKS OF SALLUST,

WITH

ORIGINAL ESSAYS.

Primus Romanâ Crispus in Historiâ. ___ MART.



C. CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS.

From an Antique **Marble Bust** *Preserved in The*

FARNESE PALACE AT ROME.

THE

WORKS OF SALLUST;

TO

WHICH ARE PREFIXED

Two Essays

ON

THE LIFE, LITERARY CHARACTER, AND WRITINGS OF THE HISTORIAN;

81447

WITH

Notes

HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND CRITICAL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

V. a-12

BY

HENRY STEUART, LL. D.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY, AND OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF EDINBURGH.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. AND R. BALDWIN, NEW BRIDGE-STREET,

By James Ballantyne, Edinburgh.

1806.

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TO

THE HONOURABLE

A. FRASER TYTLER,

LORD WOODHOUSELEE;

ONE OF THE

SENATORS OF THE COLLEGE OF JUSTICE

IN NORTH BRITAIN,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,

AND OF

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF EDINBURGH,

&c. &c.

MY LORD,

DURING *the free ages of Greece and Rome, before Dedication became another name for servility and flattery, it was the practice of learned men, to address their writings to one another; some, as a memorial of affection and respect, and some, as*

a designation of the person, whom, of all others, they esteemed the most competent to judge their labours. It is from both of those motives, My Lord, that I now inscribe the following pages to you; and, although I have assumed this liberty, without your knowledge or permission, yet I flatter myself, that it will require but little apology.

When I had finished a long, and laborious work, it was natural that I should look round for some person of genius and learning, from whose candour I could hope for a just, but mild decision as to its merits. Whom could I select, with such perfect propriety as yourself; whose admirable Essay on Translation *has, at once, fixed the principles of the art, and formed an era in its progress; and who, like the younger Scipio, can so usefully mingle the avocations of business with elegant literature? Of indolence, that great and universal vice of scholars, your Lordship has not the smallest tincture. You are a lover of labour, not less than a niggard of time; and the works, which you*

project with so much judgment, you can therefore execute with a rapidity, which few scholars possess.

But, My Lord, I have yet another motive for placing your name at the head of this address. I am gratified by telling the world of the commendation, which you have bestowed, both on the plan of my work, and on some specimens of its execution; and I am not less so in subscribing myself, with the greatest truth,

My Lord,

Your most sincere Friend,

And faithful Servant,

Allanton House,
Dec. 20. 1805.

H. STEUART.

THE

PREFACE.

In delivering to the public two bulky Volumes, in which the disproportionate quantity of *translated* to *original* matter is conspicuous, and yet bearing for their title The Works of Sallust, some prefatory explanation appears to be requisite. From the ambition of adding to our literature, it was my design to render the writings of this great historian an English book: But, to the unspeakable loss of the republic of letters, only a small portion of them has descended entire to posterity. Four short pieces are all that we can boast, as entitled to that description, namely, the Jugurthine War, the Conspiracy of Catiline, and the two Political Letters, addressed to Cæsar. As to the Fragments, although they contain some Orations that are entire, and may be

as much as possible, in the foreground of the picture, and to hinder the composition from degenerating into a mere farrago of foreign anecdote, or branching out into desultory, and unprofitable digression. Yet there are many persons, to whom this species of mixed reading, in all its latitude, is not unpleasing, especially when employed about objects, to which their partialities have been excited; and late examples are not wanting, in which it has been received, with an uncommon degree of favour, by the public.

In order to comply with the laws of Critical Biography, on the one hand, and, on the other, to gratify the lovers of variety, I have chosen the form of a Text with Notes. In the text, it is attempted to convey a general view of the objects, proposed by the Essays: The Notes are reserved for authorities, illustrations, controversy, and occasional criticism. Those, therefore, who have neither time nor inclination for elaborate enquiry, will run no risk of being fatigued with the length of the Essays; while the student, who seeks for more accurate investigation, will find the Notes, of the two, to comprise the more important portion of the matter; nor will the most desultory, it is apprehended,

complain of narrowness, in the range which they have taken. Moreover, they exhibit that sort of "literary gossipping," so to speak, which, in the present day, may make them be received with indulgence, and tend to disarm the severity of criticism.

To the real scholar, I pretend not to furnish much that is new, by either the Notes, or the Essays. But he, whose taste has been formed on the great models of antiquity, will treat, with candour, any attempt, to throw light on the history, whether literary or political, of the most splendid age of Roman grandeur and learning, and to give a critical account of one of the greatest ornaments of that age. Novelty he will, of course, not expect. Neither will he compare the variety of the entertainment he is to receive, with the multifarious attractions, which more recent details must possess. Even trivial incidents, with such a reader, will acquire an interest, when connected with men, who, by early association, have a sort of prescriptive right to his esteem; and he will never forget, that it is to the genius of their times that we are indebted, for whatever is elegant in our taste, or correct and vigorous in our composition.

Perhaps it may be thought, that the pages of the Notes are somewhat too copiously filled with quotations from the classical writers, and many of them from books that are, or should be in everybody's hands. In the present decline of antient learning among us, this will not probably be the opinion of any scholar. I flatter myself, that a reader of such a description will rather regard these extracts as the best ornaments, with which I could have enriched my work. There are presented, in both volumes, some of the finest remains of antient wisdom and eloquence, on a great variety of topics; and, although all cannot be equally interesting (as many of them contain a mere statement of facts), yet they form an assemblage, of which the perusal cannot fail to improve the understanding, as well as the taste. The translation, or, sometimes the imitation only, which usually precedes the quotations, will give, to the English reader, some notion of the substance; but the force of the diction, and the inimitable graces of the manner, must greatly disappear, in a modern transcript.

In regard to the character of Sallust, I believe, that I materially differ, in my account, from most of the writers, who have gone before me. It does

not appear, that, either in a moral, or a literary point of view, he has been usually treated with candour. The torrent of abuse, with which he is overborne, on the one hand, and the unqualified encomium, that is lavished upon him, on the other, first induced me critically to enquire into the grounds of such jarring sentiments; and the result, I should willingly hope, has been something like an impartial portrait of a celebrated individual. I have no desire to wash him white, in defiance of common opinion, and long-established authority: But I cannot agree to represent him as *blacker* than he is, merely because others have delighted in such dark delineations, nor to give my suffrage against him, in the face of candid reasoning, or unquestionable facts. At all events, I may be permitted to say, that so *ample* an account, whether of the historian, or the man, has not, as yet, in one view, been laid before the public; so that, if my opinions be erroneous, I have, at least, furnished sufficient materials to refute them, and to enable the unbiassed to decide for themselves.

It is important to observe, that, throughout the work, one thing has been steadily kept in view,

namely, the information of the Young Student. Amidst the variety of topics, that are treated, a reference, for the most part, will be found, more or less direct, to the objects of his research, and constantly the intention of cultivating his taste for good composition, and genuine criticism. Should the riper scholar complain of trite, and commonplace matter occupying a considerable portion of the Notes, I can only say, that it is not designed for his use, although it may, perhaps, tend to assist his recollection;

Indocti discant, et ament meminisse periti.

The unusual minuteness and attention, with which Authorities are quoted, will be of considerable advantage to the same description of students. Of the accuracy of the authorities, I trust, I may speak with some confidence, as I have seldom or never quoted at second-hand. The books referred to have been duly consulted, and the reference verified, by actual inspection. Against casual errours, in so great a multitude of references, and to so many writers, modern as well as antient, I will by no means insure the investigating critic: The accuracy of the printer, Mr Ballantyne of Edinburgh, is well known to the British public; and considerable

pains have been bestowed, in correcting the sheets. The labour of minute, and accurate reference, particularly to the antient authors, is known only to those, who have themselves attempted the practice. The learned Dr Adam has set an admirable example, which every writer, on Greek or Roman literature, would do well to imitate. Probably, from the general reader I may obtain little praise for my exertions, in so subordinate a department of learning; yet there are some students, who may thank me, for endeavouring to tread in the footsteps of this accurate, and laborious scholar.

HAVING now enlarged sufficiently on the Essays, I shall proceed, in the Second place, to say something concerning the TRANSLATION.

It is the remark of a body of critics, whose labours, for more than half a century past, have done honour to British literature, that "There is no "department, in which the English have less ex- "celled, than in Translations from the Greek and "Roman authors. It is singular," they observe, "that, with a numerous body of clergy, whose "leisure is so liberally patronised by the nation, "and who pique themselves on classical acquire-

" ments, there should still remain a single antient " writer, inaccessible to those, who cultivate only " the language of their native country*." It is remarked by another set of critics, not less respectable, that " It is an extraordinary circumstance, " however discreditable to English learning, that, " with Translations of the antient Poets, beyond " question the finest existing, we should still be " outstripped, in our versions of the *Prose-authors* " of Greece and Rome, by the greater part of our " European neighbours, who have any pretensions " to taste or literature†."

The fact, strange as it may appear, is certainly too well founded. Without pretending to account for it, we have to lament, that, while the French and Germans employ their most eminent writers in this department, the labour among ourselves has usually been consigned to servile hands, and to very inadequate abilities. The sarcastic couplet of Sir John Denham, is almost as applicable to the present day, as it was to the times of that judicious critic ;

* See Monthly Review, article, Murphy's Tacitus, in Vol. XII. New Series.

† See Literary Journal, for December 1803.

Such is our pride, our folly, or our fate,
That few, but such as cannot write, translate*.

The Romans, that wise, and enlightened people, seem to have had notions, with respect to prose-translation, extremely different. Crassus, Cicero, and Messala, did not think it unworthy of their genius, to employ themselves on what were considered as the classical compositions of that day; and, accordingly, they gave versions of a great part of the works of Xenophon and Plato, of Æschines and Demosthenes†. Quintilian, in his instructions how to form both a good writer, and an accomplished orator, declares the practice of translation

* Dr Middleton, in the Preface to his Life of Cicero, speaking of Translations from the classical writers, justly observes, that, in such compositions, "It would be ridiculous to produce what was stiff, and "forced, and offensive to a polite reader: Yet this is generally the case "of our modern versions; where the first wits of antiquity are made to "speak such English, as an Englishman of taste *would be ashamed to* "*write, on any original subject.*" pp. 21. 22. 5th Edit.

† *De quo nunc agitur, unde copia ac facilitas maximè veniat, vertere Græca in Latinum veteres nostri oratores optimum judicabant. Id se L. Crassus, in illis Ciceronis de Oratore libris, dicit factitasse. Id Cicero, suâ ipse personâ, frequentissimè præcipit; quin etiam libros Platonis atque Xenophontis edidit, hoc genere translatos Id Messalæ placuit; multæque sunt ab eo scriptæ ad hunc modum orationes; adeo ut etiam, cum illâ Hyperidis pro Phryne difficillimâ Romanis subtilitate, contenderet.* Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. X. 5. p. 771. Edit. Hack.

to be an essential requisite; and the younger Pliny, in like manner, gives strong reasons for assigning, to the art, the highest degree of importance and utility*.

It is to be regretted, that specimens of translation, from such masters, were not destined to reach a very distant posterity. Time, which has deprived us of so many of the remains of antient genius, has spared little of these productions, from Cicero's pen; but, from what the great orator informs us concerning them, there is reason to believe, that they were agreeable to the best principles, so lately known, and acknowledged among ourselves. In fact, the doctrines, laid down in the admirable "ESSAY ON TRANSLATION," first published in 1791, are fundamentally the same, as those recognized by Cicero, in speaking of his versions of the Athenian writers.

"In these translations," says he, "my study "has been, to write like an orator, not like a mere

* *Utile in primis* (says he), *et multi præcipiunt, vel ex Græco in Latinum, vel ex Latino vertere in Græcum : Quo genere exercitationis, proprietas, splendorque verborum, copia figurarum, vis explicandi, præterea imitatione optimorum, similia inveniendi facultas paratur : Simul quæ legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt : Intelligentia ex hoc, et judicium acquiritur.* Plin. Epist. L. VII. 9.

" renderer of words. The principal object was, to " transfuse the thoughts, in the native form, in " which they are presented in the original; taking " care, at the same time, to accommodate the expres- " sions to the peculiar genius of the Latin tongue. " To confine myself by verbal interpretation, I did " not consider as necessary; nor, when the sense " and spirit were fairly given to the reader, was it " my business to measure out to him the number " of words, which it contained, but to express their " actual weight and import, in my own*."

* *Converti ex Atticis, duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes, inter se contrarias, Æschinis Demosthenisque. Nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator; sententiis iisdem, et earum formis, tanquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis: In quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium verborum vimque servavi; non enim ea me annumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam appendere.* De Opt. Gen. Orator. V. In another place, he has a passage, which inculcates the same principles, and is expressed somewhat in the same terms. *Nec exprimi verbum è verbo necesse erit, ut interpretes indiserti solent, cùm sit verbum quod idem declaret, magis usitatum: Equidem soleo etiam, quod uno Græci, si aliter non possum, idem plurimis verbis exponere.* De Fin. Bonor. & Malor. L. III. 4. I am not ignorant of the attempt, made by M. Huet, to strain and twist the plain meaning of Cicero, to an opposite purpose: But I consider the reasoning of the French critic, as unfounded and injudicious. He had adopted a theory, as to literal and verbal translation, which he was willing to prop with antient authorities; and, in more than one place, he lays hold of casual expressions of Cicero, and

Thus, we perceive, that Cicero's intention was, First, to give a transcript of the ideas of his original; Secondly, to adapt the style to the genius and character of his own language; and, Thirdly, by attending more to a correspondence of idioms, than to a mere interpretation of words, to give, to his transcript, the spirit and freedom of original composition.

It is on these principles, that the present translation is attempted. How inferior soever the execution may be to the standard, which we set up as the criterion of excellence, it is by such a standard, that it must necessarily be judged. It will be admitted by every one, who has attended to the subject, how just, although how seemingly paradoxical the observation is, "That it is less difficult to give, to a poetical translation, all the ease of original composition, than to give the same degree of ease, to a prose-translation*." To the poetical trans-

passes them, with the reader, as his deliberate sentiments. In this opinion, I trust, I shall be supported by all impartial scholars; among the foremost of whom, I may place my very ingenious friend, Mr Frazer Tytler, now Lord Woodhouselee, who, throughout his "Essay on Translation," clearly maintains the same doctrines as those, for which I contend. As a proof of what he thinks of the above sentiment of Cicero, he has adopted the principal part of it, as the *Motto* to his book.

* See Essay on the Principles of Translation, Ch. X. p. 219. 2d Edit.

lator far more liberty of retrenchment, of amplification, of embellishment being permitted, than to the translator of prose, ease and gracefulness, with the former, are therefore more attainable. In fact, without some portion of a liberty like this, there could be no ease at all; and, with two such translators, it is evident, that, talents being equal, ease will be in the precise ratio of such a licence; or, in other words, where there is the least liberty, there will be the least ease, from the superior difficulty of attaining the latter.

The peculiarities of Sallust's manner are a sufficient illustration of this doctrine, and present, to the translator, very considerable difficulties. His style is that of sententiousness and force, in contradistinction to that of Livy, which is, for the most part, eminent for richness and diffusion. Sallust was ambitious to adopt Thucydides, and Cato the Censor as his models; and, like the latter, he had the art of "dispatching much in a few words*." He borrowed his diction, in a great measure, from the writers of an age, prior to the Augustan, and

* Sallust, in the Fragments of his great History, says of Cato the Censor; *Cato, Romani generis disertissumus, multa paucis absolvit.* L. I. 1.

he added, to their vigour, the grace and elegance of a more mature period. Without doubt, this style was not the best, that was possible for history; but he had the merit of rivalling his master Thucydides in strength, while in brevity he left him his inferior.

In translating such an author, with any degree of success, it is evident, that, from the difference in the structure between the modern, and the classical languages, a skilful amplification* must frequently be employed, and some vigour infused into the transcript. It is not always easy to chuse a middle path, between a servile copy, and a paraphrastical imitation. To give, in our language, an accurate likeness of the Sallustian manner, would be to violate the most obvious rules of English composition; and, for the sake of ease and spirit, to run into diffusion, might produce a pleasing book, but it would bear no resemblance to the writings of the historian.

* For the great utility and importance of "amplification;" as also, how far it is allowable in a translator, to add to, or retrench the ideas of his original, See Essay on the Principles of Translation, by Lord Woodhouselee. No man should attempt to translate, whether from the classical, or other writers, without having first diligently studied this excellent treatise, in which judgment and good taste are equally conspicuous.

It has, therefore, been my aim, in the first place, to convey the *sense* of the author; and, in the next, to attain as much *compression of style*, as appeared to me consistent with the genius of our language, exemplified in a composition of *good taste*. With the fastidious critic, I would far rather incur the imputation of being sometimes paraphrastical, than be deterred from an attempt, to seize something of the vigour, and beauty of the Roman writer. As Mr Murphy says, on a similar occasion, I have anxiously laboured "to give a faithful transcript "of the original, in such English, as an English-"man of taste may read without disgust; and if, "in the transfusion, I have not suffered the spirit "of the historian to evaporate, I shall look back, "with pleasure, to the time which has been dedi-"cated, to a great, and arduous undertaking*."

I believe, that I should, in this place, take notice of a certain colloquial familiarity of diction, which here and there appears, such as would probably be excluded from historical composition, in our own language. For this I can only apologize, on the score of the extreme difficulty, in all versions from

* See Murphy's Essay on the Life and Genius of Tacitus, prefixed to his translation of the historian's works, p. 40.

the antient authors, of attaining ease and spirit. On due consideration, perhaps, the candid critic will admit, that, where the colloquial manner predominates, more has been gained, in that essential particular, than lost by the want of dignity of style. The same sort of familiar diction, but in a far greater degree, prevails in the historical translations of Mr Murphy: But we could scarcely wish it away, to make room for a more stately, or a more ornamental dress.

In these ideas concerning translation, I know, that I dissent from the opinion of some distinguished scholars. Batteux, and Huet, Bishop of Avranches, two celebrated French critics, are of opinion, that the merit of a translator, consists in giving not only the strict meaning of his author, but also a literal transcript of his manner and words, in as far as the powers of either language will possibly permit: He must adhere, they say, with a rigid fidelity, to the same arrangement of sentences, and even to the same order of construction *.

* See Batteux, De la Construction Oratoire, Par. II. 4.—*Optimum illum esse dico interpretandi modum, quum auctoris sententiæ primùm, deinde ipsis etiam, si ita fert utriusque linguæ facultas, verbis arctissimè adhæret interpres, et nativum postremò auctoris characterem, quoad ejus-*

Mr Gordon, the translator of Tacitus, and Mr Cooke of Enford, the translator of Sallust, among ourselves, have diligently reduced these principles to practice. The consequence is, that they have succeeded in producing books, which can never be read with satisfaction; and, in fact, will never be read at all, unless to caution others against imitating their example*.

fieri potest, adumbrat; idque unum studet, ut nullâ eum detractatione imminutum, nullo additamento auctum, sed integrum suique omni ex parte simillimum, perquam fideliter exhibeat. . Universè ergo verbum de verbo exprimendum, et vocum etiam collocationem retinendam esse pronuncio, id modò per linguæ, quâ utitur interpres, facultatem liceat. Huet. De Interpretat. III. pp. 15. 16. Edit. Lond. It was not certainly in this school, that the Montgaults, the Daciers, the Brumoys, the D'Ablancourts, and the Olivets studied, whose productions are the glory of French literature. See Lord Woodhouselee's Essay on Translation, for a *judicious* account of the principles, that should guide the translator, as to the points in question.

* Of Gordon I shall say nothing, in this place, as Mr Murphy, in his Essay on the Life and Genius of Tacitus, has given a complete idea of his style. As to Mr Cooke, Vicar of Enford, he was one of the best scholars of his time; but he greatly mistook the principles, on which classical translation ought to be executed. A single example from his work may suffice. When Marius, in his celebrated speech, desires, that the People would only compare him with his Patrician opponents, Sallust makes him say; *Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbiâ, me hominem novum. Quæ illi audire et legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quæ*

If, then, I be in the wrong, I have the satisfaction to think, that it is in consonance to the practice, as well as the theory, of the greatest masters of the art. To those who are of an opposite opinion, I shall say, in the words of an illustrious antient; *Me unà cum Socrate, et cum Platone, errare patiantur:* It is an errour, which I willingly share with Cicero and Quintilian, with Tytler and Franklin, with Campbell, Melmoth, and Murphy.

Whatever may be said, concerning other nations

illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam; mei fortuna, illis probra objectantur. Quamquam ego naturam unam, et communem omnium existumo, sed fortissumum quemque generosissumum. Bel. Jugurthin. LXXXVIII. Which spirited passage Mr Cooke renders as follows: "Now compare, O Romans, Me, this new-"man, with the pride of them. What they are used to hear and read, "I have seen part of; part myself have acted. What they in writ-"ings, I have learned in action. Be Ye now the Judges, whether "facts or words excel. They despise my novity, I their indolence. "To me fortune is objected, to them shame. Although I think, that "nature is one and the same in all, yet that every the bravest man, is "the most of a gentleman." P. 147. The *fidelity* of such a version no one will dispute: But this is what Mr Cooke calls, "making the noble "historian appear in this new dress, in all respects *as like himself as* "*possible.*" *!!!* See Preface, p. 5.

Thus, Greece and Rome, in modern dress array'd,
Is but antiquity in masquerade.

Franklin on Translation.

of Europe, there can be no sort of danger, in our classical translations, in enforcing the principle of giving vigour and spirit, as we have generally deviated into the opposite extreme of feebleness and servility. Possibly Huet and Batteux might be in the right, to stand up for the doctrine of literal, and verbal rendering, with their countrymen, whose transcripts, they knew, were apt to be too paraphrastical; but it would constitute a most unwholesome regimen, for nourishing the taste of the British translator. Animated by such beautiful examples, as Mr Melmoth and Mr Murphy have set before us, there is at length a hope, that we shall no more see the Greek and Latin classics "done in English," as in the days of good Philemon Holland, and his coadjutors; who, notwithstanding, were better scholars than we are, although they had made far less proficiency, in cultivating their native tongue.—Perhaps this may be the last time, that the true principles of translation, as they are now understood, will need to be defended, by a formal discussion.

It is peculiarly important, in presenting to the public any translation of Sallust, to state the particular Edition, from which it has been executed.

Of the writings of all the antient authors there is probably no one, concerning which MSS. so widely differ, not in letters or words only, although that might frequently be sufficient, but in sentences; some being often inserted in one MS., that are wholly omitted in another: And editions, of course, must differ, almost as frequently as MSS., according to the erudition, the perspicacity, or the opportunities of the scholar, who superintends them. I am, therefore, extremely desirous, that this circumstance should be stated with clearness, to the critical reader.

The edition, which has been used, is that of Miller, published at Berlin, in 1751, perhaps one of the most accurate ever edited of the Roman historian. In general, it will be found to coincide with the useful edition of Havercamp (Amsterdam, 1742), which is in every body's hands. Although it usually follows Havercamp, it also freely admits some ingenious amendments of Cortius, rejecting them, where they are unnecessary, or seem to be dictated, by the mere caprice of innovation.

It has been well observed, by my learned friend, the author of the Essay on Translation, that to give to a version, especially of an antient writer,

" the ease of original composition," includes by far the most arduous part of the translator's task.

" To one, who walks in trammels," says he, " it is not easy to exhibit an air of grace and free- " dom. It is difficult, even for a capital painter, " to preserve, in the copy of a picture, all the ease " and spirit of the original: Yet the painter em- " ploys precisely the same colours, and has no " other care, than faithfully to imitate the touch " and manner of the picture, that is before him. " If the original is easy and graceful, the copy will " have the same qualities, in proportion as the " imitation is just and perfect. The translator's " task is very different. He uses not the same " colours as the original; but he is required to " give his picture the same force and effect. He " is not allowed to copy its touches; yet he is re- " quired, by touches of his own, to produce a per- " fect resemblance. The more he studies a scru- " pulous imitation, the less his copy will reflect " the ease and spirit of his original. How, then, " shall a translator accomplish this difficult union " of ease with fidelity? To use a bold expression,

" he must adopt the very soul of his author, which " must speak through his own organs*."

These observations are admirable; and in no part of translation from the historians of antiquity, are they more strikingly verified, than in that of the Speeches. The Speech, or oratorical part of their work, besides its use as a vehicle of instruction, was constantly regarded by them as the field, in which they were to lay out all their strength and ingenuity: It should, therefore, be rendered with some degree of corresponding vigour, in the transcript. The translator should here maintain, with the original author, a noble contest of genius. He should strive, like him, to elevate his style above the ordinary level of the narrative, and animate it, if possible, with a corresponding glow of *English* eloquence.

Obvious as this principle seems to be, it is singular, that Mr Murphy is the only one of our classical translators, as far as I know, who has even partially illustrated it, by his practice. In the oratorical part of his Tacitus, we find some noble specimens: but, on several occasions, he may

* Essay on the Principles of Translation, p. 201.—203. 2d Edition.

be said to rise little, if any thing, above the feebleness of his predecessors. The speeches in Sallust have always been classed, among the most beautiful remains of antient eloquence; and I acknowledge, that I have laboured them, with extraordinary attention. If the attempt have failed, to present them in a dress worthy of the author, I cannot shelter myself under the plea of haste or inadvertency: It is from no want of diligence, but from want of ability to do justice to the originals.

In the art of translating from the prose-classics, there is another important principle, which, as it appears to have been noticed by no other writer, should not be overlooked, in this place. For want of a better name, I shall call it, the art of "technical translation;" that is, of applying, with propriety, the modern terms of science or art, to antient objects. In this art, Mr Murphy is a great master; and in this, it will be found, that one of the great attractions of his Tacitus consists. The taste and judgment, with which it is employed, seldom offends, as it is very rarely that he oversteps (to use an expression of the painter's), legitimate *costumé*.

When he describes a battle, the operations of a

campaign, or the manœuvres of a fleet, or an army, it is the military, or naval officer, who relates the facts. When he gives an account of the state-trials at Rome; the buildings in Italy, or the provinces; the progress of the arts, or the decline of literature, he is equally in his element: We think we listen to the lawyer, the architect, the artist, or the scholar. Let the reader examine his account, for example, of the memorable campaigns of Germanicus or Blæsus; the voyage of the former to Asia; his naval expedition against the Germans: Let him read the description of the mock shipwreck of the younger Agrippina, the fall of the amphitheatre at Fidenæ, in the Annals; together with the progress and decline of taste and learning, in the Dialogue on Oratory: In all these passages, it is the accomplished technical translator, who can command the appropriate language of each department, and, in order to produce his delineations, can vary it at pleasure.

It must be confessed, that, in this application of language, some judgment is requisite; as, without it, such a liberty would degenerate into licentiousness, and become the object of ridicule. Dr Johnson, who, in the spirit of sound criticism, laughed

at Blackwell, for his absurd titles of "Secretary at War," and "Paymaster, and Commissary General," in the service of Augustus*, would have applauded the sober use of the privilege, in hands such as Mr Murphy's. His technical transcripts never fail to please. They familiarize us with remote, and unusual objects, and exhibit them to our view, in colours the most suitable and expressive.

In the present work, I have been ambitious to follow this example. Great attention has been bestowed on the *military* part of the narrative, in order to clothe it in an appropriate dress; without which, in the present diffusion of military ideas throughout the island, it could have been perused with no pleasure, by a reader of discernment. If Mr Murphy have failed in any department, it is on some few occasions in the one in question; for, to manage it with perfect propriety, in so great a variety of examples, would imply the advantage of such professional habits, as it was utterly impossible Mr Murphy should possess. The military parts of antient history are, indeed, not always very interesting, in

* See Review of Blackwell's Memoirs of the Court of Augustus, in Johnson's Works, Vol. X. p. 185. Edit. Hawkins.

the original. From the manner, in which they are translated, they often become still more insipid; whereas, they ought to be supported and enlivened, by the most skilful use of appropriate language. Sallust, who is no common writer, usually traces a bold outline. He passes over, as insignificant, subordinate descriptions; and, turning our attention to more material objects, the causes and consequences of events, he contrives to unite a degree of interest, with the information which he conveys.

It is now full time to make a few observations upon the Notes, that accompany the two principal pieces of the historian. They are drawn up, chiefly for the purpose of supplying such historical circumstances, as the author has withheld, in the parsimony of his narrative.

In these two pieces his design evidently was, to admit an account only of the main incident, and to exclude whatever was secondary or adventitious. This rule he, in general, observes. But, when at any time he departs from it, we should remember, that he wrote in a period, when much was intimately known, both of men and things, that might have been considered as superflous to mention, but which is now less familiar to his present readers.

On this account, the labour which is bestowed, in bringing forward a very considerable body of *collateral* matter, both biographical and historical, from other authors, may not be found either misplaced or useless. The Notes may be read as Memoirs of the times, of which the text constitutes the History.

It very seldom happens, that an antient transaction, placed at the distance of nearly seventeen-hundred and fifty years, admits of so minute, and, at the same time, so authentic a detail, as the Conspiracy of Catiline. In fact, the account could scarcely have been more complete, if the circumstances had taken place, within our own memory. He, who knows nothing more of this celebrated event, than is recorded by Sallust, will be struck with the multitude of facts and illustrations, comprised in the Notes; and, even with readers, whose knowledge is more extensive, they may serve to counteract the prejudices, early imbibed from the historian, to ascertain the facts which he has concealed, and to correct the errours which he has committed.

In doing justice to Cicero, while at the head of the republic, I acknowledge that I felt uncommon

satisfaction. The inordinate vanity, and other weaknesses of that extraordinary man, might help to apologize for the shade, into which Sallust was willing to throw him; but they are now obliterated, or, at least, greatly softened, by the distance, at which we contemplate them. Although, to his contemporaries, such blemishes might be both prominent and offensive, they disgust *our* feelings but slightly in the comparison; while we bestow a willing applause on the glory of an administration, which at once saved his country in a most critical emergency, and must transmit his name, among the ablest statesmen, and most virtuous patriots of any period.

For the length of the Notes on the Geography of Africa, in the Jugurthine War, I am aware, that some apology is needful. Our author's digression concerning the African continent, has been esteemed, by the best judges, as among the most valuable parts of his writings; both on account of the nature of the discussion itself, and the superior opportunities of information, enjoyed by the author. But the rapid manner, in which he glances only at objects, all demanding illustration, leaves no choice to the commentator, who would faithfully discharge

his duty, but either to enlarge on each separate head, or altogether to abandon the attempt. As the enquiry is connected with the first peopling of the earth, or certainly with some of the earliest migrations of mankind from east to west, I have not hesitated to chuse the former part of the alternative: The general reader, therefore, will forgive me, if I here seem rather severely to tax his patience. The subject is not without its attractions for the geographer, and the philologist, and even for the philosopher; and most of the critics and commentators on the writings of Sallust, have left it wholly without elucidation.

It now remains only to say something, with respect to the accompaniments of the work. There are added, for its illustration, four Plates. The First exhibits a Head of Sallust, taken from the only original bust of him, that is extant, in the Farneze Palace at Rome; at least, it made a part of that valuable collection, when the drawing was taken, from which the present engraving is executed, and before the first memorable visit of the French to Italy. It forms the frontispiece to the First volume.

The Second plate presents a Map of that part of Tuscany (the antient Etruria), in which the

territory of Pistoria, now Pistoia, is situated. It is meant to elucidate the movements of the two armies, previously to the battle, in which Catiline fell, and to give the reader a competent notion of the surrounding country. This sketch, it is hoped, will be the more acceptable, that none of our own antiquarians, as far as I know, have endeavoured to fix the topography of the engagement.

The Third plate furnishes a Map of Africa, that is, of those parts of that vast continent, with which the antients were tolerably acquainted. According to most authors, Egypt, on the east, was not included in it; and, on the west, little was ascertained with certainty, beyond the promontory of Soloeis, that is, Cape Cantin, or, at most, beyond Atlas Major, now Cape Bojador. That the Carthaginian admiral Hanno penetrated, in this route, considerably to the southward, is fully ascertained. There is little less doubt, concerning the reality of the expedition of Eudoxus, and of the Phœnicians employed by Necho, king of Egypt, both of whom circumnavigated the Cape of Good Hope. Yet all that was learned, was the mere extent of the continent, and the general outline of the coast.

In constructing the map, two difficulties were

to be surmounted; first, the utter disagreement, that prevails, among the antient geographers, on the subject of Africa; and, secondly, the necessity of bringing the map within a scale, consistent with the expense of the work. I have consulted Scylax, Herodotus, Strabo, Dionysius, Mela, Pliny, Agathemer, Ptolemy, Solinus, Isidore, and Æthicus; and, without following any one of them implicitly, I have adopted what appeared to be most probable, on a comparison.

It should not be omitted to state the advantage, which has been derived from the labours of D'Anville, from the excellent memoir of Mr Rennel, on the Geography of Herodotus, and, above all, from the Travels in Barbary, by the late accurate, and learned Dr Shaw. According to the writer last-mentioned, the situation of a great part of the places, particularly on the northern coast, has been adjusted, and corrections made of the errours of preceding geographers.

In this map, all the places, noticed in Sallust's history, will be found delineated: Those, of which the scite is doubtful, are fixed according to the most probable conjectures. Although the map is principally intended for the illustration of the Jugur-

thine War, it is hoped, that, to the classical reader, it may serve the more general purpose of information, with respect to the whole of antient Africa.

The Fourth, and last plate, exhibits a topographical view of the celebrated attack, made by Jugurtha on Metellus, by far the best commander, with the exception, perhaps, of Julius Cæsar and the Scipios, ever sent to Africa, by the Romans. From Sallust's history, as the situation of the river Muthul does not certainly appear, this sketch is in some measure conjectural, and cannot therefore be adjusted to a scale. The situation, however, of the surrounding objects, and, in particular, the position of the hostile armies, are in strict conformity to the historian's narrative, which most commentators, to say the truth, have rather perplexed than elucidated.

There is yet another point, on which this delineation is designed to throw light, and that is, the connection between the principles of antient, and modern Tactics; in which view, the Military Commentary, that accompanies it, may have its use. Since our neighbours the French have obliged us to become a *military* nation, it will be intelligible throughout to most readers; and it will be esteemed

an object of some curiosity, at this distant period of time, to perceive the origin of our principles of movements, as we have lately borrowed them from Prussia and Austria, in those of the Légion, and the Phalanx.

To the second Volume is subjoined a copious Index; without which no work, containing matter so multifarious, could be either commodious or useful.

Probably it may be objected, that the form of publishing the work, is too large and expensive for some of the purposes, at least, for which it is designed. Undoubtedly, "a great book is a great evil," no less than it was in the days of the wise antient, who made the observation; although both splendid and great books are now accounted among the luxuries of the times. But, in regard to the present publication, it should be remembered, that its utility yet remains to be decided by the public suffrage; and, should that suffrage be in its favour, it will be easy to remove the objection, by an edition in a smaller form, and of corresponding price. Meanwhile, it is published in a style sufficiently handsome, though with no pretensions to splendour, for the library of the scholar, the gentleman, or the English reader of taste.

Upon the whole, although no pains have been

spared, to give value to these volumes, yet I cannot flatter myself, that they will be received with much popularity. Every thing has now become a matter of fashion among us; and our literature as completely bends to it, as our dress, our furniture, or our manners. Classical learning, it is to be apprehended, is greatly on the decline; insomuch, that, were it not for those noble institutions, the two Universities, and the great Schools of England, there is some reason to think, it would be superseded by other objects, and erelong become extinct in Britain*. My highest ambition will be gratified, if I can in any wise contribute towards averting a calamity, that would presage returning barbarism, or towards procuring respect for a most neglected department of English literature.

* It is about ten or twelve years since, that an ingenious gentleman, a Mr Stevenson, published a treatise, with the design, I am persuaded, of patriotic improvement. Among a number of proposals, some of which were not destitute of merit, he had one notable scheme, namely, the destruction of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, as useless incumbrances, and the establishment of a great academy for *Book-keeping* and *Arithmetic* in their stead! I speak from memory, not having his tract at hand. But this suggestion for *improvement* is sober and rational, when compared with some others, with which we have been favoured by men of ingenuity, since the French began, in 1789, to improve themselves, and to edify their neighbours, by means of their Revolution.

Should it unfortunately happen, that my work be perused only by a few curious students, or a few unfashionable scholars, I shall console myself in the words of the poet Heraclitus,* who is said to have declared, that one judge of discernment was to him as a multitude, and the numberless crowds as nobody;

Εἷς ἐμοὶ ἄνθρωπος τρίσμυριοι, οἱ δ' ἀνάριθμοι
Οὐδείς.

On the other hand, should it find favour in the sight of those, who direct the public taste, or are at the head of the great Schools of the kingdom, it will probably be read, and may, I presume, be productive of the following useful effects.

In the First place, it will bring the mere English reader acquainted with the writings of a great historian, which have hitherto been concealed from his view, or, at least, have repelled his curiosity, by the uninviting nature of their dress.

In the Second place, it will prove salutary to the young scholar, in inspiring him with the love of classical studies, and just criticism, by enlarging his notions, in regard to some of the most celebrated events and characters of antiquity. As a textbook of another kind, it may also be used with ad-

vantage. Although I shall be among the last to condemn the *verse-exercises*, as practised at our great schools (because I hold them to be the only method of acquiring a thorough acquaintance with the antient languages), yet I would, with great deference, submit it to the heads of those useful seminaries, whether somewhat more of translation, than they admit, from the Greek and Latin, into our own tongue, might not be attended with extraordinary benefit. Cicero, Pliny, and Quintilian were decidedly of that opinion, in respect to the Greek writers; and, perhaps, the exercise of *double translation*, as it is described by Roger Ascham*, for the student of his

* See his Scholemaster, Book II., where he explains himself at considerable length, upon the subject. His method is, to make the learner translate from a Greek or Latin prose-writer, into the best English he is able. Next, he makes him compare his version with some superior transcript, executed, if possible, with spirit and fidelity; pointing out, to the young student, both the instances in which he may have equalled, and those in which he may have fallen short, of such a transcript. And lastly, after a certain interval, when the student has had time to forget the order of the construction, and the particular expressions of the antient language, he makes him turn this superior translation into Greek or Latin, and, in the same manner, compare it with the original. Or, *vice versâ*, the learner is made to begin with translating, into Greek or Latin, some good version of an antient writer; and, proceeding by a similar process, he finishes at last, after a proper interval, by turning the antient author into accurate English. See Ascham's Works, pp. 263. 264. & seqq. Edit. Bennet.

day, might be a further improvement. To my own knowledge, some of the best living writers, whether of English or Latin, have been formed by means of translation, and by the diligent practice of Ascham's method.

For such a purpose, the learner will find, in the present work, wherewithal both to compare, and to correct his efforts. The Notes, in particular, contain abundant examples, on almost every topic, and selected from a variety of authors, both Greek and Roman. The beauties of sentiment, or the graces of manner, which naturally escape so inexperienced a critic, will adhere to his memory, on a closer inspection, when he is called upon, in some sort to render them his own; and, in this occupation, under a skilful teacher, he might enlarge the circle of his ideas, while he learned to give vigour and variety to his style.

In the Third, and last place, were the book to come into fashion, an emulation might be excited among scholars, possessed of more leisure and ability than I have, to translate the writings, and compose the lives of the principal antient authors, on a similar plan. If, as it is said, the history of learned men form, in some degree, the history of learn-

ing, there would then be produced a more pleasing, and, without doubt, a more comprehensive view, than ever yet has been exhibited, of the literature of the classical ages. Thucydides and Seneca, for example, in competent hands, would be noble subjects. Both were public, as well as literary characters; and both produced an extraordinary influence on the times, in which they flourished. In a delineation of the life and writings of the Greek historian, the author might assume him as a central point, and from thence stretch his view to almost all that is valuable and delightful, in that celebrated period, which elapsed from the time of Pericles, to that of Alexander the Great. In a similar account of the Roman philosopher, he might give a history of the progress of genius, from its lustre in the Augustan age, to its rapid and sensible decline, in that of Trajan and the Antonines.

These hints I presume to throw out, as speculations merely, not so much with the intention of recommending my work, as of recommending the interesting topics, with which it is congenial. One thing is possible, were it to become fashionable to enquire into them: It might tend to turn the attention of the rising generation, from frivolous pur-

suits, to more manly objects of contemplation; to the history of ages, that have surpassed every other, in the cultivation of the fine arts, and of letters, and with which the student must be thoroughly acquainted, who would excel in either. With the best antient models frequently before our eyes, there might yet be a hope, that English learning, like the glorious CONSTITUTION which fosters it, would continue vigorous and unadulterated, and be able to resist that torrent of corruption, which, from our continental neighbours, is ready to sink it in viciousness and effeminacy*. As, by the candid acknowledgment of foreigners themselves, we possess the first, and most powerful of living languages†, so it becomes us to take the lead, in retrieving the taste of other nations, and in setting them an example of correct, and classical composition.

* See Vol. I. Essay II. p. 277, and Notes p. 415.—418.

† See some curious evidence concerning this point, in Vol. I. Essay II. p. 292, and Notes p. 434.—436.

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ESSAY FIRST.

ON THE LIFE AND GENIUS OF SALLUST.

Pleasing nature of Biography. Its improvement in modern times.

Of the lives of those, whose genius has delighted or informed mankind, it is a subject of too frequent regret, that we possess but few memorials. Yet the most scanty accounts of such men curiosity or gratitude is solicitous to collect, and peruses with an eager, and uncommon interest. There is, indeed, no feeling more natural, than that by which we are led to become familiarly acquainted with a celebrated writer. We are pleased to enter into his closet; to see him divested of the dress and ceremonial in which he appeared before the public (1); to follow him through domestic scenes, and ordinary occurrences; and, having first admired the author, to acquire, at length, some knowledge of the man.

The Biography which would convey this sort of information in all its extent, was scarcely cultivated by the polished nations

of antiquity. Perhaps it may be classed among the few branches of the fine arts, in which we may be said to have outstripped our masters. Of the authors of Greece or Rome, who composed the lives of individuals, but a small number have come down to us: Yet from the productions of these we are fully able to judge of their notions concerning Biography, of the extent of the design, and the style and merit of the execution (2). The fact seems to be, that those antient artists overlooked the relative importance, which the peculiarities of the individual bear to the history and knowledge of the species. In the characters of eminent men, as they have pourtrayed them, the representations are traced with sufficient fidelity, and sometimes with beauty and vigour. As single objects they are accurately delineated. They possess wherewithal to please, and even to instruct: But they stand, as it were, insulated and detached from surrounding life; while the colours of neither borrow much improvement or relief from the other.

Modern Biography, on the other hand, takes a wider range. In the best specimens of the art, a view is, in some measure, given of the age and nation of the person to be described; its political character is represented; and its state of advancement in arts, in manners, and in literature. By conveying, also, an idea of the genius and talents of contemporaries, the scenes in which the hero is to figure are fairly laid before us; and, in this manner, a far juster estimate is formed of his conduct, and a clearer insight obtained into his character. To continue the allusion from painting, although he still constitutes the chief figure on the canvass, he becomes grouped and associated with a variety of other objects, all directly or indirectly connected

with him; which, instead of obstructing the general effect of the piece, throw a pleasing light even on those subordinate touches, and that minute delicacy of colouring, which give discrimination and interest to the Biographical picture (3).

HENCE we see, by an extension of the principle, how great an improvement has been made, in modern times, in this species of composition. On the antient plan, it was adapted chiefly to record the transactions of the great, and the illustrious. In the modern view, it comprehends, and gives lessons to every rank of life. It selects its subject alike from the summits of grandeur, and the scenes of privacy; or even from the tranquil shade of literary retirement.

Difficulty of delineating antient characters.

OF those who have become eminent by learning it may, for the most part, be said, that their lives pass silently away. The occupations of the scholar are calm and uniform: They lie within a narrow compass to the common eye; and they are extremely little diversified by events (4). It is by his writings alone that he leaves behind him any image of his mind; and it is in proportion as these are elegant or useful, that we feel interested to enquire how that image has been produced, or concerning the nature of the object from which it has been reflected.

IN delineating the scholar or philosopher of antiquity, hard is the task that is imposed upon the modern biographer. Besides the general difficulties attending the undertaking, it is embarrassed with some others peculiar to itself. It is true, in such a case, the candid will be sometimes pleased with unimportant details, and trifling anecdotes: But as his canvass is to the

painter, so are facts and incidents to the writer of Biography; for, without materials, a picture can be produced by neither. In the composition of antient Biography, therefore, the want of incident is severely felt. Every scholar, on the subject of the performance, has already formed his opinions, and adopted his prejudices; and the ordinary reader expects both novelty and interest in the delineation of the hero, a comprehensive view of his temper and genius, his weaknesses and his virtues. Besides this, it is not always easy, in personal details, to preserve the middle-path between prejudice and partiality. Transcendent talents, while they attract admiration, are sure to awaken both jealousy and hatred; and traces of each are sometimes discernible, in the groundless dislike, and the no less groundless predilection, of a distant age.

THESE are difficulties which it is allowable to state. Although entirely to surmount them is, without doubt, impossible, yet prejudice, in most cases, will give way to candour, and the love of truth; and industry may, in some degree, supply the deficiency of incident, by the useful aid of history and criticism (5).

The character of Sallust usually treated with injustice. His Life by M. Le Clerc.

THE extraordinary person of whom I am about to give an account, has been placed, by the suffrages of posterity, in the foremost rank among the antient historians: Yet I know not if his life has ever yet been impartially recorded (6). Perhaps there is no literary character, that has given rise to keener sensations of aversion or partiality, than that of Sallust; no one that has met with less protection from its friends, or greater persecution from its enemies. The earliest biographers, who

attempted to represent him, lived in too near an age to be free from personal prepossessions; and of the later authors the far greater number have surrendered their judgment to the dogmatical and the arrogant: They have rather listened to declamation, than enquired into facts; and have thereby been disabled from deciding with candour. As to Sallust, while alive, he was exposed to the hatred of Cicero, and the envy of Livy, and vilely traduced and undervalued by the latter, when he was no longer able to answer for himself (7). Even down to the present day, his reputation is still torn and mangled, by the heated partizans of those popular writers (8).

At the head of the biographers, who have adopted every illiberal prejudice against this illustrious writer, we regret to place the name of M. Le Clerc (9); a person every way qualified to give currency to opinions less pertinaciously supported, and less generally diffused. The extensive learning, and respectable character of Le Clerc himself, the tone of imposing gravity, and specious criticism, with which his Life of Sallust is composed, attracted universal attention (10). Indeed, since his time, it seems almost to have silenced enquiry on the subject of the historian. Succeeding editors have acquiesced in his decisions; and, content to be the organ of what this Professor of Amsterdam thought fit to dictate, they have adopted his performance, and submissively placed it at the head of their publications (11).

On these accounts, it concerns me in the outset, as I am widely to dissent from such established authority, to enter my protest against a tract, which I must consider, not as a candid representation, but an unwarrantable libel on a celebrated cha-

racter. In apology for the strictures which I shall take occasion to pass upon it, I shall only observe, that the age of literary domination is long since past. Dogmatism in matters of taste or science will not now stand for argument, nor supposition for facts. On a subject like the present, the unprejudiced and the liberal will decide for themselves, according to the only rules by which Biography can be judged, the laws of evidence and probability, and the principles of sound, and liberal criticism.

Birth and parentage of Sallust. Degeneracy of the Roman manners.

CAIUS CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS was born at Amiternum, a town in the Sabine territory (12), in the year of Rome 667, during the Consulship of Lucius Cornelius Cinna, and Cn. Papirius Carbo; corresponding to the 86th year before the Christian era, and to the 3d of the 173d Olympiad; the same in which Athens was taken and sacked by Sylla (13). Some, however, have placed his birth one year later (14). Concerning the extraction of this celebrated historian, authors are not agreed; some assigning to his family a Plebeian origin, and some deriving it from the stock of the Sallustii, who, as Roman Knights, had figured in the annals of the republic (15). Be that as it may, the father of our author, Caius Sallustius, was distinguished for his integrity, and blameless manners; a praise the more worthy of credit, as we find no attempt to lessen it in the laborious ingenuity, antient and modern, so successfully employed in calumniating the son (16).

SALLUST, it may be truly said, was "fallen on evil times;" whether we consider the factions which distracted, or the degeneracy that had sunk, the Roman world. About three years

after our author's birth, Sylla had fully established his dominion. The steps, by which he mounted to that elevation, were marked with cruelties, and proscriptions, and exile, and all the horrors of civil war. Italy, as well as Rome itself, was made a theatre of blood and rapine. Since the overthrow of Carthage above half a century had elapsed; an interval nearly of perfect calm, at least in regard to external enemies; and, that mighty rival being no more, the dread of her power, which gave vigour to Roman virtue, was succeeded by a security no less fatal to its progress (17). The vices, among a cultivated people, that grow out of the possession of wealth, and a long course of prosperity, had their free career: Public corruption, and, in private, the abuse of luxury, keeping pace with each other, attained a height unknown before. It were vain, therefore, to expect, in the rising generation, the simplicity and the temperance, that adorned the age of the Scipios. Primitive manners, and antient virtue were alike out of date; and the youth, catching the infection of living examples, had no taste for either.

THE infancy of Sallust kept him free from the dangers of Sylla's dictatorship. He was about eight years old, when that usurper, having, some time before, voluntarily relinquished the supreme power, finished his career in retirement and sensuality. Metellus and Pompey in Spain, had now put an end to the civil wars, by the overthrow of Sertorius and Perpenna, about fifteen years after their first commencement: And, in the twelve of internal tranquillity that followed, Sallust had time to make some proficiency in those studies, to which, from his early youth, he had shewn a decided bias. When the Conspiracy of Catiline broke out, he had reached the age of two-and-twen-

ty (18), and was an eye-witness of the whole of that transaction, which has been painted by him in such glowing colours.

His education and love of letters. He studies History after a method new and philosophical.

OUR author, as it appears, having passed his earliest years in his native town of Amiternum, was soon removed to Rome, where he had his education, and, among other masters, studied under Atteius Prætextatus, a celebrated grammarian, and in the art of rhetoric an instructor of the youth of that period (19). Endued, as he himself informs us, with vigour of mind, rather than bodily strength, he resolved assiduously to cultivate what nature had most liberally bestowed, and, accordingly, he took no delight in agriculture or the chace, or in the military pursuits, and athletic exercises, of the Roman youth (20). Keen penetration, and a thirst of knowledge early kindled in his mind a love of letters, with its usual concomitant, the love of fame, and led him to the study of philosophy, and liberal science (21). Between eloquence and the sword, the two methods by which ambition at Rome could hope for preferment, it was easy for such a temper to decide, and he soon chose the former. But of that vicious taste, introduced by the rhetoricians, which had, at this period, overspread the Greek, and had just begun to infect the Roman schools, Sallust contracted not the smallest tincture (22). He probably pursued the same plan of study adopted by Cicero, and so well described by him. It embraced the whole circle of the sciences then known; narrow, it is true, in comparison with the wide range of modern times: Yet it was more solid, if it was less extensive: It comprehended the knowledge of men, as well as books; and its effects are admirably displayed in the writings of the orator, as well as of the historian (23).

He, who cultivates polite learning, will naturally be led to an acquaintance with history. To the Roman citizen, who was trained to act in scenes of public business, that study was indispensable, which alone holds up the great volume of experience, and opens wide and philosophic views of life. The penetrating eye of Sallust soon discerned its importance. He reflected, that those who record, no less than those who achieve, illustrious actions, may claim some share of merit; and he burned to emulate the celebrated writers, who had deserved and obtained the applause of ages (24). With the temper, therefore, of a man, who knew his powers, yet relied upon his industry, he early conceived so noble a design; and its successful accomplishment became the chief object of his hopes, and the favourite end of his ambition.

But the history to which our author so vigorously directed his studies, was not the mere knowledge of dates and eras, but a science of a more profound and important species. He meditated, with deep attention, the nature of society, and the foundations of government, and, particularly, the constitution of the Roman commonwealth. He estimated the actual extent, and various powers of man, diligently comparing them with his propensities and his passions (25). The fame of the actors, who had most conspicuously figured in the great drama of the world, excited his curiosity to penetrate their characters; to see the springs that had actuated their conduct; and thus to lay open those secret causes, which produce, or which obstruct the most important events.

In the course of the investigation, it soon appeared, that occurrences the most momentous did not always owe their origin

to causes of proportionate magnitude. He observed that circumstances, in themselves sufficiently trifling, composed, sometimes, a considerable chain, of which the various links were far less frequently united by design, than by accident; and that in vain we shall strive to trace the true sources of political events, if we seek them amidst the subtilties of refinement, and the deductions of reasoning. The fact, he saw, was, that men, in such situations, as, indeed, in every other, act from desires and aversions, not from speculative principles of conduct; and that they naturally yield to their favourite propensities, and to the real bias of their character. Thus, Sallust may be said to have followed a double process of moral chemistry, which was new, no less than it was ingenious. By analyzing the complicated mass of our motives to action, he aspired to direct and regulate those motives, from the general principles that were deducible from the process. He first studied history by a deep insight into the human mind; and then was able to illumine and enlarge the mind, by the light of history (26).

Sallust declines the practice of the bar, and devotes himself wholly to literary pursuits.

Although one of the first objects of our author's ambition was the attainment of eloquence, it does not seem, that he ever distinguished himself at the bar. Cicero, who commemorates, in one part or another of his writings, all the eminent speakers of that day, makes no mention of the name of Sallust. Nor should we wonder, with some, at such an omission (27), or impute it to the enmity, which, it is well known, subsisted between them. The great critic, in that beautiful tract, where he delineates the illustrious orators of Rome, lays down the prudent resolution of wholly abstaining either from the commendation, or the censure of living characters (28). Whether,

therefore, it was, that the historian, like many men of uncommon endowments, felt a want of that confidence and self-possession, that fluency of style, and intrepidity of manner, which are requisite for business, or popular addresses, it is impossible to ascertain (29): But we may pretty confidently believe, that, if he ever had hopes of rising as a public speaker, he very soon abandoned the design. It is true, as has already been observed, forensic or military distinction was the usual means, to which a Roman citizen looked for fame. But Sallust had too high an idea of the intellectual powers, to believe that they were confined to so narrow a track. It was his persuasion, that the faculties, vigorously exerted, are able to point a thousand ways (30): And, with a just discernment of his own talents, he concluded, that the eloquence which failed to command in a promiscuous assembly, might yet charm in the closet, and secure to the historian a more permanent reputation, than could be either hoped or attained by the declamation of the day (31).

HISTORICAL composition, beyond question, was an art, that held forth a wide field for literary talents: Yet, previous to this period, it had not been very successfully cultivated among the Romans. From Fabius Pictor, who, about two centuries and a half before, had first attempted to record the transactions of his country, down to Catulus and Antipater, and even to Varro, Atticus, and Hortensius, nothing had been produced, that, in the judgment of Cicero, did much honour to Roman genius. It consisted in annals, sometimes feeble, and sometimes unpolished; never rising to energy or elegance, and wholly undeserving the name of history (32). In this state of the art, Sal-

lust looked for his model, to the elegant productions of the Athenian writers (33). The hope secretly inflamed him of one day being able to tread in their footsteps, and erect, at Rome, an altar that should be worthy of the historic muse. It was an arduous attempt, in which many difficulties were to be overcome. To the narrative which should please, were to be added the lessons that might instruct: Truth was to be substituted for tales of wonder; and the whole was to display the graces of correct and elegant composition. Whatsoever Sallust undertook to perform it was his genius to prosecute with an indefatigable spirit (34). Indeed, the present instance has furnished a noble demonstration of his own animating principle; that, in most undertakings, inactivity is our great and prevailing vice, not want of force; and that success will seldom be missed by him, who possesses manly vigour, and the ambition of excellence (35).

His intimacy with Atteius the Grammarian. He forms his style on the antient Roman, as well as the Greek models. Illiberality of Le Clerc.

DURING the course of these studies, it appears that he received considerable assistance from Atteius, the Grammarian, already mentioned. The philologer was of an age not greatly different from that of his pupil. He had a just discernment of men; and, perceiving the merit of Sallust, soon conceived for him a sincere friendship. The intimacy, thus early begun, was continued from congenial tempers and similar studies, and ended not, till after many years, with the death of the historian (36).

ATTEIUS was a person of talents and erudition, and, as an instructor of youth, had acquired considerable celebrity. Among his noble pupils were the two Appii, the sons of

Caius Claudius, and nephews to Clodius, who was killed by Milo: And we afterwards find them appearing with applause, upon the trial of that celebrated, but violent partizan (37). As an author, also, Atteius seems to have made no mean figure among his cotemporaries. He delighted in a certain miscellaneous species of writing, usual among the learned of that period, but of which no specimen has come down entire to modern times. It seems nearly to have resembled the Menippean compositions of Varro; and, according to Suetonius, the biographer of the Grammarian, his collections of this sort amounted to no less than eight hundred books (38).

From such a preceptor Sallust did not fail to derive important assistance. Atteius not only helped to enlarge the mind of his friend and pupil, but furnished him with a valuable compendium of Roman history; in which, by exhibiting a view of the chief revolutions of the empire, during nearly seven hundred years, it was easy to select those portions of time, most likely, from their importance, to become popular and interesting. From this circumstance, it is probable, that our author's idea of writing history in a "detached shape" was originally taken (39). Accordingly, the only two pieces of his composition, that have reached us in a perfect state (the Conspiracy of Catiline, and the Jugurthine War), are written agreeably to that plan. Each comprizes but a single event, and a limited space of time; and the account may be advantageously perused, without relation to anterior, or to succeeding transactions.

In the formation, likewise, of that forcible style, which has justly furnished so much matter for criticism, he was aided

by the judgment of his friend Atteius. Asinius Pollio, in the virulent invective, which he published on the writings of our author, represents Atteius as employed in diligently collecting obsolete words and phrases for the use of Sallust: And yet Pollio pretends, that he constantly condemned the style of the historian as in a high degree vicious and affected (40). For the purposes of the Forum or the Senate, Atteius might justly disapprove of his friend's manner of writing; but we have no evidence that it was rejected by him, as ill-adapted to historical composition. Indeed, the distinction between the style of oral and written discourse, between that of history and oratory, which seems to have been made by Atteius, has been confirmed by the decision of the ablest critics of antiquity (41). The fact was that Pollio, although a tolerable poet, showed himself, as a critic, to be vain, arrogant, and capricious. His dry and rugged style ill fitted him to succeed in the historic character; and, with the envy natural to a little mind, he thought to enhance his own, by decrying the merit of a successful rival (42).

The taste of Sallust, we must be convinced, was formed upon the best models of Greek composition. In the history of that language he read the fate of all sublunary things (43). It had early risen to correctness and elegance: It was, in this period, as rapidly hastening to degeneracy; and the ambition of our author was at least meritorious, in wishing to avert a like decline from his native tongue. In the progress of the Roman language, he observed that the undisciplined energy of the age of Cato, which had been softened, but not effeminated, in that of Crassus and Antonius, was now beginning to diffuse itself

in extrinsic ornament, and polished periods. The seeds of corruption, scattered by the rhetoricians, were ready to spring up; so that a perspicacious eye, even before the reign of Augustus, could discern the appearance of those noxious weeds, which, in an after period, were to destroy all elegant learning, and all genuine taste (44). It was with a view, therefore, to preserve the vigour, while he added to the copiousness, of the Latin tongue, that Sallust had recourse to the elder writers. He studied, with attention, the compositions of Cato and Lælius, but particularly those of the Censor. He laboured to revive a multitude of words, both original and derivative; bringing into use such modes of expression, as preserved the strength, together with the analogy of the language, but which, in the modern practice, had fallen into decay (45).

On the same principle it was, that the Attic, not the Asiatic taste in writing attracted the partiality of such a student. Thucydides he soon selected as his model (46). He was desirous to transplant, into his own language, the admirable brevity, and strength of that historian. Like the best judges among the Romans, he thought no method more effectual for improving it, than by the adopting of words, and even idioms from the Greek: Accordingly, a critical eye will perceive with what freedom he has borrowed, not only from the great historian of Athens, but from his noble imitator Demosthenes; and all will acknowledge the success, with which, in point of brevity, he has emulated, and even surpassed, his Grecian master (47).

Concerning the principles on which the style of Sallust was formed, what has been here offered is a much more probable,

and, surely, a more liberal account, than the virulent decision of the biographer, who asserts, that severity of precept, and elevation of language were assumed, by the historian, as a cloak to licentiousness of manners. By affecting, he says, the antiquated phraseology of the old republic, Sallust hoped to persuade the reader, that his life had been a transcript of the virtues of a former day (48). As well might we say of Le Clerc, the author of this remark, that his own imitation of the antient models sprung from a similar cause. The satisfaction, we might allege, which he visibly betrays in the reprehension of Sallust, was but a cover to the consciousness that the same irregularities were imputable to himself. He, who deliberately mangles the reputation of another, can have no cause to complain, if severe reprisals be made upon his own; and the manes of Sallust, we may believe, were sufficiently pacified, when the Professor of Amsterdam afterwards smarted under the lash of Bentley, and the intolerable abuse of the elder Burman (49).

Sallust's turn for pleasure and luxury. Misrepresentations of his Biographers.

It is not, however, to be dissembled, that the conduct of Sallust laid him sufficiently open to the shafts of calumny. As a model of correct manners he never can be held up; and truth, probably, may lie between the exaggerated abuse of his enemies, and the ardent partiality of his friends. It is difficult, if not impossible, in a remote period, to collect, with certainty, minute circumstances concerning the lives of individuals. When, in such a period, many different persons of the same name are found, as in the present instance, to exist together, considerable perplexity must result to the biographer, as well as the historian. Whether the transactions of such men be misrepresented by design, confounded by ignorance, or mingled

by accident, the consequences are the same: They never fail to afford some plausible foundation for almost any superstructure, that fancy or ignorance may chuse to erect upon it. It is a circumstance, to which the biographers of our author have hitherto paid little attention, that the name of Sallust was pretty common at Rome, towards the close of the Republic. *Five*, if not *six* different Sallusts are mentioned by Cicero alone; and there probably were many others, of whom nothing has been transmitted (50). As it is certain, therefore, that the historian has, more than once, been mistaken for some of these, so it is probable he may, in like manner, have been confounded with others.

It is related by Aulus Gellius, on the authority of Varro, that Sallust had an unlucky intrigue with Fausta, the wife of Milo, and the beautiful daughter of Sylla the Dictator (51). Being caught, as it is said, by the husband, in the habit of a slave, he was most unmercifully beaten, and made to pay a sum of money, as a compensation for his offence (52). This story, which, at the time, made a considerable noise at Rome, is twice alluded to by Horace, and once by Virgil: But, after the most careful investigations of the best critics, of Torrentius and Vossius, of Le Fevre, Dacier, and Wieland, it appears evident, that it cannot be applied to Sallust the historian, without the grossest chronological inconsistency, and a direct contradiction of established facts (53). It is on this ground, and on others equally frivolous, that he has so often been mistaken for the notorious debauchée so well described by Horace (54); and as the indisputable original of that monster of depravity, which owes its existence to the antient Declaimer (55). In the

schools of Declamation, where the two fictitious speeches, under the names of Sallust and Cicero, were produced, it was the acknowledged practice of the orators, while they mingled truth with fiction, to give a loose to fancy; and, accordingly, the representation they have held up of Cicero, as well as Sallust, is no less absurd, than it is shocking and indelicate to a modern ear (56).

THE fact seems to be that both the antient Scholiasts, and the biographers of our author, having once discovered that he was not strictly moral, thought it impossible to represent him as sufficiently vicious. Every allegation, whether true or false, every scandalous report, or unhappy anecdote, with which the general name of Sallust had in any wise been connected, was, without scruple or hesitation, fixed upon the historian. Thus, crimes in far greater number have been laid to his charge, than any single individual, in that age, either did, or could commit: An anxiety to calumniate has overshot its object; and the load of accusation has fallen to the ground, at once refuted by its own absurdity. Yet supposing his enemies had pointed their attack against him with less virulence, and, consequently, with greater effect; supposing, also, that no positive evidence had been brought to counteract the malignity of a Le Clerc, and the incorrectness, and the prejudices of a Meisner (57); still there is a force of internal, as well as circumstantial evidence in the facts themselves, that probably, with the candid, would suffice for his vindication from the charge of grovelling sensuality.

As vice and virtue are qualities diametrically opposite in their nature, we may assert, that the existence of the one,

in any remarkable degree, necessarily implies the absence of the other. Great intellectual culture, and great intellectual debasement, have a close analogy to these qualities, and are often their respective concomitants: Accordingly it may be believed, that the former can no more coalesce with gross excesses of vice, than the latter can have place amidst high sentiments of virtue. If this be true, it will follow, of course, that the evidence, which would attribute to Sallust almost every crime, that can disfigure and degrade human nature, must, even at first sight, appear suspicious; and it will be still more invalidated, when we reflect, that he, who found leisure only for so great and continued mental efforts, could not probably be sunk, as is supposed, in the lowest depths of profligacy.

When the Conspiracy of Catiline broke out, we are certain that the historian had attained the age of two-and-twenty; yet he was wholly unconcerned in that daring enterprise. Indeed, it is an imputation, which the most malignant ingenuity has not ventured to cast upon him. Notwithstanding, as we are well assured that Catiline, by himself or by his emissaries, had, for more than two years before, been indefatigably employed, in every corner of Rome, to gain over the young and inexperienced to his cause (58), it does not appear that their arts had any influence on Sallust; and, ruined in fame and fortune as he is represented to have been at an early period of life, it were indeed wonderful that he should so virtuously disregard the allurements of wealth and power, which promised to crown the machinations of a desperate set of men. This, on common principles of justice, may be considered as a fair deduction of that species of evidence which arises from circumstances.

What, then, shall we say to the candour, nay to the perspicacity, of a late biographer of the historian, who seems to draw from it an argument for his *depravity;* and gravely wonders, in a combination, in which all the profligate young men of Rome were known to be implicated, by what *accident* it should happen that the name of Sallust was not among the number (59)!

To all who are not pupils of this new school of evidence, these considerations will appear of some weight: At all events, they will be more satisfactory than unfounded and arbitrary assumption, than the blunders of the Scholiasts, or the licence of a rhetorician. Sallust, as has been already observed, was of a temper uncommonly eager in the objects of his pursuit. As in his studies he was ardent and indefatigable, so, probably, he might be licentious, and intemperate in his pleasures. After subducting from Lenæus (60), the Declaimer, the Scholiasts, and Aulus Gellius, all that is incredible, and part of what is improbable, in their several allegations, there will still be room to conclude that he was guilty of some excesses. There is little doubt that he not only gave a loose to those indulgences, which are incident to youth in a great and luxurious capital; but that he early laid the foundation of that character as a finished, but rational voluptuary, which we find him supporting at an after period of his life. These are general conclusions that candour may make, from the well-known complexion of his temper and manners. It should, however, be remembered, that of his early years no *particulars* can now be known on any tolerable authority: We must therefore reject, with contempt, the monstrous accusations by

which ignorance or envy has so often endeavoured to render them an object not only of reproach, but of detestation and horror.

He enters on public life, and obtains the Quæstorship. His quarrel with Cicero.

But the love of pleasure, as well as the love of letters, was soon to be interrupted by a more restless passion. Perhaps there is no man, who, at some moment, has not indulged ambitious hopes, and pleased his fancy with schemes of future elevation. This Sallust freely acknowledges, in the introduction to one of his historical pieces. In his youth, he says, ambition overcame his better judgment (61): And, had time fortunately spared to us a greater portion of his writings, some confession, in all likelihood, would appear, that he was unable to subdue it at a riper season. Having determined to engage in public life, he soon obtained the Quæstorship, the first step in the gradation of honours, and which gave a title to a seat in the senate (62). If he entered upon the office, at the usual age of five-and-twenty, it fixes the event to the year of Rome 693, during the Consulship of Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, and Lucius Afranius; a year rendered memorable on account of the great Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus. From this era all the antient writers date the origin of the civil wars, that afterwards broke out, and the subversion of the Republic, in which they ended (63). Indeed, a period more critical and interesting is not to be found in the course of the Roman history; none when the tide of party ran with a more rapid swell, or of which the effects were to be more extensively, or permanently experienced.

Concerning this portion of our author's history no particulars can with any certainty be gathered. Attached by sen-

timent to Cæsar, and connected, of course, with the party of Clodius, it may be presumed that he was among the number of those, who assisted in procuring the banishment of Cicero, a scheme which was at this time planned, and actually brought about during the second year after Sallust's Quæstorship. The charge against Cicero was, that, during his Consulship, and in the face of a fundamental law of the state, he had, of his own authority, ordered the execution of Lentulus, and the other accomplices in the Conspiracy of Catiline. It is true, the allegation could, with no colour of justice, be brought home to the Consul, as the punishment of death was in direct terms awarded by the Senate (64). Yet, at the instance of Clodius, who was one of the Tribunes for the year, he was arraigned to answer before the people. Firmness in the hour of danger was not among the virtues of the great orator. He embraced the resolution of privately withdrawing from Rome during the night; and, in consequence, was sentenced to go into exile, more than four hundred miles from Italy (65).

The banishment of Cicero seems to be the first occasion, on which there is reason to think that the feud between him and Sallust was either directly avowed, or publicly manifested. Of the quarrel itself, as well as the consequent hatred of Asinius Pollio, which has been already mentioned, few particulars have come down to us, and none whatever concerning its first origin. In a period when intrigue and faction were carried to so extraordinary a height, it was not wonderful if private pique often grew out of political animosity: And as the supporter of Clodius, it was natural for our author to shew hostility to a man, by whom the views of that demagogue were so powerfully thwarted, and

whose temper and manners were so dissimilar from his own. Some authors, indeed, have pretended to call in question the existence of this quarrel (66). But no ingenuity of conjecture or reasoning is of much weight against presumptive proof, and it is of still less against direct testimony. The two antient Declamations, which are the work of the schools, and as old, at least, as the age of Tiberius, are evidently built upon the general historical fact of a quarrel having subsisted between Cicero and Sallust, and therefore afford the strongest presumptive evidence of its reality (67). In regard to direct proof, it is as clearly furnished, by the conduct of both parties themselves on Milo's trial; a memorable occasion, as will hereafter appear, and productive of some of the most remarkable events in the public life of the historian.

The times highly unfavourable to his ambition. Patrician and Plebeian factions at Rome.

He who would rise, with most certainty, to sway among mankind, should obtain a thorough acquaintance with the human heart. He should do more: He should resolutely master his own passions, and as vigilantly mark the ebbs and flows in the passions of other men; dexterously seizing the propitious moment, when he may be carried to his object on the tide of theirs. That Sallust well knew every recess and avenue of the mind we have little reason to doubt: But he sometimes, says a judicious writer, fell into the great error, in his political life, of suffering himself to yield too much to the bias of his character (68); a foible, which he clearly perceived was an impediment, and as successfully used as a key, to the views of others.

It must be acknowledged, that no conjuncture could be more unfavourable to his ambition, than the deplorable state

of the Roman government at this period. At the time of our author's birth, the commonwealth was distracted by the fierce contest between Marius and Sylla; of whom the former espoused the party of the nobility, and the latter that of the people; while the unhappy commonwealth, as the historian himself observes, interested neither, and was rent by the fury of the contending factions (69). On the death of Sylla (A. U. C. 675), who reigned, with the title of Dictator, more despotically than a Tarquin or a Nero, he had scarcely reached his eighth year. The ascendency during that domination gained by the nobles, and the degradation of the Tribunitian power to little better than an empty name, long survived their author; and neither the efforts of Lepidus in Italy, nor the noble stand made in Spain by Sertorius, were able to restore the antient balance. It is true, the laws of Sylla, and the new form he had communicated to the government, still subsisted in full vigour, when Sallust began to turn his thoughts to public affairs: But the power of the Triumvirate was about to subvert them, and to substitute the most horrible anarchy in their stead.

PERHAPS it had been fortunate, and certainly more prudent, had Sallust studied to temporize, and bend to circumstances, in such a state of things. But prepossessed, as he was, against the order of the nobility, by his inferior birth, and still more by the dictates of a haughty and sullen spirit, he listed openly on the side of the people. A youthful mind, tinctured with high notions of political virtue, by perceiving its semblance in the antient republics, was easily seduced by the applause of the multitude. Ardour and talents are quali-

ties, that all parties receive with open arms; and the natural vehemence of the young Quæstor gave but too much room for the reproach, that he was a restless demagogue, who was studious of novelty, and delighted in scenes of popular intrigue (70).

If we can believe that any man, from a contemplation of the present, was capable of forming any probable conjecture concerning the future fortune of the empire, that man was Sallust. His acquaintance with history enabled him to perceive how this implacable struggle between the nobles and the people would one day terminate (71). He knew that the balance, which the spirit, as well as the forms of the constitution, intended to create between the two orders, had, in fact, never subsisted beyond the early infancy of the republic (72). They were exasperated against each other by original rivalship; and the breach between them had, by encroachments on either side, been gradually widened, down to the present time (73).

From obvious causes, indeed, the Patrician party usually took the lead. The power of the people, on account of their numbers, being less easily concentrated, they were more disqualified for acting with united energy (74). But if the Senate, as a body, was too feeble, and individually both corrupt and unjust, it was no less true of the people, that, though sometimes oppressed, they were frequently licentious, and always insolent and discontented (75). In such circumstances, a combination between three powerful citizens had been formed, to command by force what they could not obtain by law. By artfully exciting the two factions against each other, they might themselves unite in oppressing both. The government, in a word, was on the eve of a revolution; and it was easy to foresee, that the greatest

ambition, joined to the greatest talents, would at last preponderate in the scale.

From this view of the temper of the times, it appears, how many obstacles, as the historian himself observes, there were to his ambition (76). The influence of Pompey, who had been reared in the school of the Dictator, had now succeeded to that of Sylla; a new enemy, of course, to Sallust. In the present juncture, at Rome, it was too true, that Patrician and Plebeian were but other names for irreconcileable animosity, and the certain signal to attack each other, with all the fury of civil war (77). Sallust, accordingly, at first, made no public figure that was suited to his views, or correspondent to his talents. In spite of the specious apology, which he offers for his conduct, it is plain enough, that to his own heat and imprudence, we may, in a great measure, attribute the very slender degree of his political success. "Unhappily (he says), I was "fallen on evil times, and many were the obstacles that cross-"ed my pursuit. Instead of the modesty, the moderation, "the greatness of soul, which I had vainly figured, avarice, "impudence, and open bribery had pervaded and debased "every department of the state. For a mind as yet uncontaminated by vice, it was natural to revolt from the scene with "detestation. Yet what could be expected from youth and "inexperience? Inflamed by ambition, I was carried away by "the torrent. And although I abstained, in general, from the "profligacy of others, yet to me the same thirst of preferment "brought the same evils; the same envy and reproach, that "attended its votaries (78)." Be this as it may, it is certain that he soon retired in disgust, determined to resume his for-

mer studies; and possibly, since his enemies will have it, to indulge, also, in his former pleasures.

Probable that he visited Athens in this interval.

During the eight years that followed Sallust's Quæstorship, it does not appear that he enjoyed any public honour. The probability, however, is, that the time was not suffered to pass away unimproved, and that he prosecuted his studies with fresh ardour, secretly meditating those extensive works, which he afterwards had perseverance and vigour to execute. Like most Romans, who were anxious to drink at the fountains of philosophy (79), we have reason to believe, that he visited Greece, and Athens in particular, the country of Thucydides. In this seat of learning and science, the doctrines of the New Academy were then taught by the followers of Clitomachus and Philo, of whom Sallust was probably the disciple. From some passages in his writings it appears, that, in his principles at least, he showed no tincture of the philosophy of Epicurus; for, instead of the conclusions of that vain and comfortless system, he displays some of the sublimest precepts of the Platonic school (80).

The Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus. Sallust's attachment to Cæsar.

In this interval, affairs at Rome continued in a state of comparative tranquillity. Cæsar, having finished his memorable Consulship, with Bibulus for his colleague, but, in effect, with the whole executive power in his own hands (81), was employed in acquiring those laurels in Gaul, which enabled him to mount to a still higher elevation. Crassus, also, had attained his grand object of ambition, the command in the Parthian war, from whence he was never to return; while Pompey was strengthening his interest at home, by every possible method.

THE scheme of the Triumvirate originated, at first, in the profound policy of Cæsar, by whom its chief advantages were ultimately to be reaped (82). Yet all the three had entered into it with extraordinary eagerness, and each with the hope of exclusively promoting his own interest. During Cæsar's Consulship, Pompey aimed at a sanction of his Asiatic government, by a decree of the Senate and People. Cæsar thought, that, under colour of a deference to Pompey, he would rise to influence, while he was skreened from envy: And Crassus, though inferior to either, might acquire that ascendant, which he could not otherwise sustain, by the authority of Pompey, and the vigour of Cæsar (83). The truth is that Pompey and Crassus were antient enemies. United from motives of policy alone, their mutual dislike might be softened for a season; but it could neither be warmed into cordiality, nor grow into attachment. Of the former Cæsar dreaded the popular ascendency; while the pecuniary assistance of the latter had been employed, to save from ruin his own exhausted fortune (84). Instigated by an ambition which was without limits, he saw, that, through the aid of such associates, he could rise superior to every other competitor; and, by artfully employing the one against the other, he hoped, in the end, to supplant them both (85).

IT has been remarked, by an ingenious writer, that a political combination so powerful as the first Triumvirate, wanted nothing but the talents of Cicero, in order to render it complete (86). But it may be asserted, that, amidst the degeneracy of the Roman manners, scarcely any thing could retard, and even Cicero's genius could not avert, the ruin of a free

constitution. That great man, though solicited by both parties to join the league (87), preferred the glory of virtuous patriotism to the allurements of a transitory greatness. Driven, as he soon was, from the helm of the sinking vessel, he had only to wish, for what he indeed failed to obtain, some tranquil station on the shore, from whence, as he had foreseen, he might behold the tempest (88).

SALLUST by sentiment was attached to Cæsar, in whose interest he ever steadfastly continued. In that extraordinary person he perceived the accomplished orator, no less than the consummate statesman, and the able general. From the two letters, however, some time afterwards addressed to him, on the Administration of the Government, we have reason to think, that in their political views they were not altogether agreed. Sallust had high notions of civil liberty, and, although he flattered his patron, he was at no pains to conceal his own sentiments. In the eloquent remonstrance on that topic, which these productions contain, the language is more free and bold, than is usually addressed to the proud ear of power, even during its infancy. To Cæsar it gave no umbrage; and it does honour to the firmness of the historian. But, in strenuously advising the restoration of freedom, although he might speak the wishes of his heart, he felt, like most men, that there was at length a necessity for the compressing power of a single ruler (89). History has recorded, and must ever condemn, the train of crimes, that conducted the conqueror to the supreme rank; his lawless power; his boundless ambition; and the short-lived object, to which three millions of lives were so wantonly sacrificed (90). Yet posterity, also, has

confirmed the decision of Sallust, in thinking the virtues of Cæsar calculated for the delight of the human race; and, since liberty was to perish, that of all his cotemporaries he was the most truly worthy of empire (91).

He is elected Tribune of the People. Dreadful commotions at Rome.

After a considerable interval, we again find our author on the stage of public business. In the year of Rome 701, he was chosen one of the Tribunes of the People (92) for the following season (the same in which Pompey obtained the Consulship without a colleague), together with Quintus Pompeius Rufus, grandson to Sylla, and Titus Munacius Plancus, both hostile to the interests of nobility (93). In the whole of the Roman history it would be difficult to select a juncture, when the commonwealth was more violently convulsed by internal troubles. The authority of the laws proved of little avail over factions inflamed with fury against each other, resolutely bent on accomplishing their designs, and without scruple about the means by which their passions might be gratified. In insuring a majority in the popular assemblies, as often as the common means of intrigue and bribery failed, they straightway had recourse to open violence. A band of gladiators usually beset the Forum: The adverse party appeared in force to give them battle; and thus the streets of Rome were perpetually rendered a scene of blood and tumult.

About this time, also, Cæsar had completed the eighth and last campaign of his Gallic victories, and had thoughts of returning to Italy. In the foregoing year, Crassus perished in Asia, a victim to his ambition, his misconduct, and his avarice. Julia, Cæsar's daughter, and the wife of Pompey,

died nearly about the same period; and, as those illustrious rivals had already begun to draw different ways, it was manifest, that, ere long, they would drop the mask. Pompey, though late, began to perceive his error. Of his associates in the Triumvirate he had weakly become the dupe. He had been awed by the genius of the one, outweighed by the wealth of the other, and, in fact, overshadowed by both; and, since Crassus had fallen, a competition was to be maintained with a formidable rival (94). Perhaps between Cæsar and Pompey a sincere cordiality never had subsisted. Joined, from the beginning, by interested views, their union was preserved by the beauty and accomplishments of Julia, and the mediating ascendency of Crassus (95): But these ties dissolved, they watched each other with a deep mistrust; and, as both had the art to disguise their sentiments, it was smothered only for a season, in order to break out with fiercer fury.

Murder of Clodius by Milo. Outrages of the populace.

THE disturbances at Rome, during the Tribuneship of Sallust, gave to Pompey a temporary superiority. Of this the principal cause was the murder of Publius Clodius, by Titus Annius Milo, of whom the latter, at the time, stood candidate for the Consulship, and the former for the office of Prætor. These men, it seems, were antient and most inveterate enemies. An affray had taken place between their armed attendants, in the suburb called Bovillæ, near the gates of Rome; where they met, as it is said, by accident, on the Appian way, as Milo was setting out on private business to Lanuvium, and Clodius returning, in company with a friend, from Aricia. Two gladiators, in the train of Milo, commenced the scuffle. The masters, on this, interposed, in

support of their dependants: When, the affair on both sides becoming serious, Clodius was wounded; and Milo, who probably had no premeditated design to perpetrate the deed, seized the opportunity to get rid of a rival, who had often baffled his pursuits, and was, at that moment, the greatest bar in the way of his ambition (96).

Clodius himself may justly be characterized as a factious demagogue, whose death few good citizens could have cause to lament. By birth he was connected with the first families in Rome: By his corrupt practices, and unceasing intrigues, he stood high in esteem as a leader of the people. His friends took the advantage of these circumstances; and seizing the occasion to excite the public vengeance against the murderer, they determined to exert their influence to the utmost.

No sooner was the body brought to Rome, and exposed in the Forum, than the city was thrown into the most violent ferment. Rufus, Plancus, and Sallust, the three Tribunes hostile to Milo, undertook to harangue the populace (97). Having placed the dead body of Clodius, naked and bleeding as it was, on the Rostra, they omitted no topic, that was likely to rouse their feelings, or inflame their passions. On the one hand, they painted forth the many virtues of the deceased; his affection for the people; the equitable laws he had obtained in their favour; while, on the other, they enlarged on the animosity of Milo towards his ill-fated adversary; the hatred manifested by the Senate; and, above all, the obnoxious conduct of Cicero; by whose influence, they said, the deliberations of that body were overawed, and their tyrannical decrees notoriously dictated (98).

By such vehement speeches the fury of the multitude was excited to the highest pitch. They rose in a tumultuous body; and, putting at their head Sextus Clodius, the secretary and kinsman of Publius, they hurried with the body to the Senate-house. The benches of the Senators, the tribunals of the magistrates, and, in a word, every thing combustible, was soon piled into a heap; and, being set on fire, served as a funeral pile for their deceased favourite (99). The flames quickly spread to this noble building; which, together with the stately Basilica, or hall named the Porcian, immediately adjoining to it, was reduced to ashes (100). Flushed with this exploit, they ran wild through the streets. They furiously attacked the house of Milo. They plundered those of other persons, supposed to be zealous in his interest; and, under colour of bringing to justice the perpetrators or abettors of Clodius's assassination, spread terror and devastation through every quarter of Rome (1).

Pompey Consul without a colleague. Suit against Milo. Sallust and the other Tribunes managers of the prosecution.

Amidst the tumult and agitation which this business occasioned, most men turned their eyes towards Pompey. By some it was hinted, as the wisest measure, to raise him at once to the Dictatorship; while Sallust, and others of Cæsar's friends, as warmly recommended, that the latter should be chosen Consul (2). The Senate, which equally dreaded, and suspected both, on a motion, seconded by Cato, thought fit to confer on Pompey the dignity of Consul singly, with a view to compose the present troubles. In consequence of a decree, issued only in extraordinary emergency, he was accordingly enjoined, together with Sallust and his colleagues, "To take such measures as should preserve the commonwealth from im-

pending danger" (3). Dictator in effect, without the odium of the title, he had it in charge to bring to justice all who were concerned in seditious practices, and to set on foot new levies of troops throughout Italy.

THE next object that occupied the senate was to inquire into the late disturbances. It was proposed, on the suggestion of Hortensius (4), that, for this purpose, an extraordinary commission should be granted; that the indictments should be classed under two heads only; the one to comprehend the crime of bribery at the elections, and the other, the murder of Clodius, together with all the outrages that had been the consequence of that daring assassination. The comprehensive and sweeping style of such an enactment was not without its object. But the address of Hortensius was not superior to that of Sallust and his colleagues, who easily perceived that the blow was levelled at themselves. Well inclined, as they were, that the murder of Clodius should be strictly investigated, yet the disturbances were a charge, which they naturally regarded in a very different point of view. By the interposition of Fusius, one of their friends in the Senate, a subdivision of the first head was artfully procured. It was decreed, in consequence, that the affair of the assassination should undergo a separate hearing: And thus the Tribunes, in the interest of Cæsar, had it in their power to counteract any subsequent proceedings, or, at least, to oppose them with their united authority (5).

A SUIT against Milo was accordingly commenced, at the instance of the two Appii, nephews to the deceased, and stre-

nuously supported by several other friends of Clodius. The Tribunes Sallust, Rufus, and Plancus, appeared in their public capacity, as managers of the prosecution (6), and Domitius Ænobardus was appointed to act as High Inquisitor, and to preside during the trial (7). Nor have we reason to believe that Pompey was unfriendly to the cause of the prosecutors. The death of Clodius, it is true, gave him no concern: Yet he looked forward, with satisfaction, to the condemnation of Milo, and rejoiced at the prospect of at once getting rid of two persons, whose turbulent genius, and daring ambition might, ere long, give uneasiness to himself. A report, by some means had been industriously circulated, that the assassination of the Consul was planned by Milo; and so greatly did it at length gain ground, that Sallust and his coadjutors, eager to criminate the murderer of their friend, adopted the resolution of publicly conducting Pompey to the Rostra, and interrogating him before the people. Being desired, by the Tribunes, to declare what he knew of so dark a transaction, he pretended extraordinary apprehensions for his life; and the tale which he narrated, not very probable in itself, was, in all likelihood, believed by few, and, in the end, utterly consigned to oblivion (8).

For the purpose of regulating the trials, an especial law was enacted by the influence of Pompey. By this statute it was directed, that three days should be set apart for the production of the evidence; on the fourth, the parties were to be cited to appear; and final judgment was to be pronounced on the fifth day (9).

DURING the days prescribed for the examination of the witnesses, Sallust and his colleagues strenuously exerted themselves. They loudly demanded that the slaves of Milo should be put to the question, touching every circumstance of the murder. They insisted, that it was a premeditated act on the part of Milo, who had ruffians secretly posted to perpetrate the deed; adducing the testimony of various inhabitants of the Bovillæ, as well as of Cassinius Schola, the friend who had accompanied Clodius from Aricia.

THE evidence, on the other side, was ably brought forward by Cicero, Hortensius, and Marcellus (10). Hortensius combated the demand of putting to the rack the slaves of Milo. They had been manumitted, he said, for their fidelity to their master; and all procedure that was warranted by the dependence only of their former state, was hostile to the laws, and the constitution. Cicero and Marcellus also, assisted by Milo himself, were diligent in their efforts. They cross-examined Cassinius Schola, and the inhabitants of the Bovillæ; endeavouring, by every method, to make it appear, that it was Clodius, and not Milo, who had persons lying in wait near the Appian way, and had actually planned the assassination. But unfortunately for their client, his conduct was already blackened in the eyes of the people; and the appearance of Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, arrayed in mourning apparel, bathed in tears, and invoking vengeance on the murderer of her husband, attracted every eye, and engaged all hearts in her favour (11).

NOR did Rufus and Sallust suffer these propitious sentiments

to die away in the public mind. During the four days preparatory to the trial, they seized every opportunity to harangue the people (12). The secret character and intrigues of Cicero, and of the adverse party, were diligently laid open by their zeal and eloquence; and they laboured, even with some colour of probability, to implicate the great orator in the guilt of the transaction. It had been loudly proclaimed by him, that he would stand forth to vindicate the conduct of Milo: On which it was observed, by the two Tribunes, in their speeches, that Clodius had indeed fallen by the hand of that assassin; but it was too evident, that it was guided to its purpose by the advice and contrivance of a much greater man (13).

THE truth is that Cicero, from a variety of circumstances, had come under a cloud of popular suspicion (14). The well-known and deadly feud, which had long subsisted between him and Clodius, favoured the surmise, that he was not unacquainted with the design against his life. It was remembered that, for more than ten years, every measure of the orator had been thwarted by that indefatigable spirit. He had procured his banishment: He had well nigh succeeded, against the efforts of Milo, in preventing his recal. It might, therefore, fairly be presumed, that private hostility, as well as public motives, now gave an edge to resentment; and that if Cicero was not privy to, he had at least secretly connived at the destruction of an enemy.

HERE was a wide field for Sallust, and the other managers of the prosecution, in which we may believe that they expatiated with equal diligence and ability. In order to do justice to their argument, they were called upon to go at large into the

case; to set forth the close connection, that all along had subsisted between the culprit and his advocate. They were to develope, to the people, the whole views and intrigues of the faction, in which both had conspicuously figured; neglecting no topic, deduced from the merits of the deceased, or the flagrant nature of Milo's crime, to excite the pity, or rouse the indignation of their audience.

It is generally supposed by those, who, misapprehending the meaning of Quintilian (15), have believed in the authenticity of the two antient Declamations, that they were speeches at this time actually spoken in the Senate, by Sallust and Cicero. But the internal evidence they contain, even in regard to historical facts, is more than sufficient, independent of other objections, to undermine their credit, and wholly to destroy their testimony. The Republic, for example, is throughout supposed to be annihilated, as well as the death of Cæsar to have taken place: On the other hand, Terentia and Tullia, the wife and daughter of Cicero, are both mentioned as living characters. In another place, Sallust is represented as already enriched by his Numidian government, and still in a state of degradation from his Senatorian rank; in possession of the villa, which belonged to Cæsar at Tivoli, and yet launching out into the most bitter invectives against Terentia, who, on this supposition, must have been his own wife (16)! Such are a *few* only of the glaring contradictions manifest in documents, of which more than one critic has attempted to defend the authenticity; and to which several of Sallust's biographers have confidently appealed, some, as it should seem, in order to gratify their spleen, and some for the purpose of enriching their narratives (17).

Solemnity of the trial. Celebrated oration of Cicero. Milo is condemned to exile.

AMIDST the anxiety of these writers to rake up all the scurrility and abuse of two scholastic Declamations, the conspicuous part sustained by the historian, in this celebrated trial, seems very little to have attracted their attention (18). Yet its leading features are familiarly known to the classical reader, as having furnished the subject of one of Cicero's most finished Orations. The third, as it appears, before the Ides of April (A. U. C. 702), was fixed for the determination of this important affair (19). On the morning of the appointed day, all the shops in the city were shut, on the suggestion, we find, of Sallust's colleague Munatius, who, on the evening before, had addressed a pathetic oration to the people. He exhorted them not to be wanting to themselves, nor in affection to the memory of their ill-fated leader, but boldly to come forward, on the day following, in the Forum; to the end that a culprit, of such uncommon magnitude as Milo, might not be suffered to escape from justice (20).

THE crowd that assembled was prodigious. Even the housetops, as far as they opened a view into the court, were completely covered with spectators. All Rome seemed interested in an event, which, from a private quarrel, had grown into an object of public importance, and political intrigue; and, as it warmly engaged the passions, so it as naturally excited the curiosity of men. By the dawn of day, Pompey had taken care that the Forum itself, where the court was held, as well as all the avenues that led to it, should be closely guarded. At an early hour, about eight in the morning, he himself came down in great official pomp, and chose his station near the Treasury, amidst a body of troops (21). As soon as the Inquisitor and judges took their seats, the elder Appius preferred

the heads of his accusation. He spoke, for some time, with great applause and energy; assisted, as it is supposed, in the composition of his speech, by the pen of Sallust, or of his friend Atteius: And, after him, Mark Antony, and Valerius Nepos severally drew the attention of the court (22).

Milo, in this important juncture, was supported by some of the first persons in Rome, whether for distinction or eloquence; Hortensius, and Cicero, and Marcellus. In the former part of the business Cato (23), Sylla (24), and Callidius (25), had likewise given him their countenance. Marcellus, as we have already seen, chose for his department the conducting the evidence (26). Hortensius, besides his motion in the Senate, had exerted himself on the demand to put the slaves of Milo to the question; and both now agreed in giving way to Cicero, on whose fame and talents the whole weight of the cause, as well as the hopes of Milo, were justly placed. But, unfortunately, the great orator had entered the court in a state of embarrassment. The eloquence of Sallust and his colleagues, he saw, had fairly borne down his weight and popularity; while the unusual view of the Forum, invested with Pompey's guards, with the aspect of the Consul himself in the midst of them, aggravated his emotion, and added to his terrors (27). As soon as he began to speak, the Clodian mob shouted aloud, in order to drown his voice. Silence, however, was quickly restored, by the interposition of the military. On rising for the second time, his embarrassment was still greater than before. He trembled at the threatening looks, and angry clamours of the multitude; his fortitude forsook him; and the arguments he had prepared died away upon his

lips. Instead of the able defence, which was expected by his client, he spoke only for a short time, without effect or energy, and at length sat down, overwhelmed with the effort (28).

Milo was condemned to exile, or, as it was called, interdicted from fire and water (29), and immediately retired to Marseilles; without waiting the issue of an impeachment for bribery, and other charges, that were exhibited against him. But it was not so much to the evidence of his guilt, or the inefficiency of Cicero, as to the secret influence of Pompey, and the open hostility of Sallust, and his colleagues, that his condemnation was to be ascribed (30). Milo's own effrontery, says Plutarch, contributed not a little to draw down the pains and penalty of the sentence. Erect, bold, and confident, he stood forth in the face of the public; disdaining, as was usual, to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning apparel; and, in a word, in his entire demeanour the counterpart of his advocate (31).

As for Cicero, he sensibly felt, that the pusillanimity of his appearance but ill accorded with the boldness of his declarations. Resolved, therefore, to convince the world, that a concurrence of untoward circumstances, not a diminution of zeal, or a fear of obloquy, was the cause of his miscarriage, he soon after published the Oration for Milo, as he had intended to deliver it; and it has, indeed, been justly ranked among the master-pieces of antient eloquence (32). For the purpose of consoling his friend, he sent also, to Marseilles, a corrected copy of the piece. But Milo, who was enjoying the delightful climate, and luxury of the place, resolved to mortify the vanity of the

orator. Instead of a warm panegyric, as Cicero expected, he wrote for answer, that it was a fortunate circumstance that so fine a composition had not come out upon the trial; because it was to the orator's confusion that he held himself as indebted for the exquisite Mullets, on which he was then feasting (33).

TOWARDS the conclusion of this business, it appears, that a reconciliation was, in some sort, brought about between the parties, or, at least, between Sallust and Cicero (34). The latter, probably, perceived, that his political influence was now on the wane; and he dreaded the continuation of hostilities with a rival, who had all the vigour, as well the youth of Clodius, and, beyond question, was distinguished by far superior talents. Be that as it may, it is certain, that resentment on both sides was greatly softened, and the trial brought to a close with a considerable diminution of that virulence and animosity, which had marked it in the beginning.

This trial probably comprized in Sallust's Great History. Erroneous conjectures as to the date of his compositions.

SUCH is the only appearance of Sallust, as a public speaker, that we find recorded by antient authors. But, from hence it may be concluded, that, like most Romans of liberal education, he occasionally addressed both the Senate and the people. An official situation, the danger of a friend, or a great public emergency, was wont to call forth such exertions in men, who were not ambitious to hire out their talents for money or influence, and, like our author, declined the practice of the Forum (35). Time, to whose cruel ravages we owe the loss of the far greater portion of Sallust's works, seems also to have deprived us of an account of this famous trial, from the person of all others the best able to furnish it. It was said, of the elo-

quence of Pericles, by a Greek poet, that it not only delighted, but seemed to leave stings in the minds of the hearers (36); a species of merit which we may well suppose was attained by Sallust on an occasion, where, like Cicero's, his passions were closely interwoven with the cause. In fact, there is sufficient ground for the opinion, that the first Triumvirate was an era included in his plan of writing. It formed, in all likelihood, a part of his Great History, which is unhappily lost; and it is the more to be lamented, as the historical records, that are preserved concerning this busy period, are particularly mutilated and defective (37). At all events, it would have been a curious, and, from such a pen, a valuable portion of Roman history.

It is supposed by the learned Le Clerc, and the sentiment has generally been adopted by the later biographers of Sallust, that, about this time, his history of Catiline's Conspiracy was composed, that is, immediately after the Tribuneship of our author (38). As the foundation of such an opinion scarcely any thing is alleged, except the temperate colours, in which the historian pourtrays the character and consulship of Cicero. Yet the date of the work, as well as that of the Jugurthine and Civil Wars, which are supposed immediately to have followed it, is decidedly fixed to the year of Rome 703, or, at all events, to an era not greatly posterior. This is a conjecture, which is made with little colour of probability; since all these works (as I shall hereafter take occasion to show), should be referred to a period considerably later in the life of Sallust (39). Without entering, for the present, into the controversy, I shall only observe, that wherever Cicero's name occurs in the Conspiracy

of Catiline, it is mentioned with respect, and even in terms of direct, though inadequate commendation: But neither the language nor the temper, displayed in that piece, are such, as to furnish much solid ground for the first part of the Genevese critic's hypothesis, and none whatever for ascertaining the date of the other compositions.

Vengeance of Pompey's faction. They procure his removal from the Senate.

THE conduct of Sallust on Milo's trial, how creditable soever to his firmness or ability, drew after it effects, which, as they checked, for a time, his political career, so they have materially tended to injure his reputation. No sooner had the murderer of Clodius retired into exile, than the violent odium and unpopularity of the act began to die away. Good men rejoiced in the comparative calm, which succeeded to the intrigues and turbulence of Clodius; and few regretted the loss of a citizen, whose death, no less than his life, had been calamitous to his country. In this disposition of the public mind, the partizans of the deceased were sure to experience their turn of persecution. Munatius Plancus, one of Sallust's colleagues, was attacked by Cicero, with all the thunder of his eloquence: And both this man and Rufus, together with Sextus Clodius, the ringleader of the mob, were condemned and banished for the conflagration of the Senate-house, and other outrages committed by the populace (40). Whether it was that the conduct of Sallust had been more guarded, or less culpable, than that of his associates; or whether the reconciliation with Cicero served to skreen him from the rigour of enquiry, it is impossible to determine: But the friend of Cæsar, no less than the advocate of Clodius, was regarded by the adverse party with a keen aversion. His counteraction of their

measures, during his Tribuneship, still rankled in their memory, and they silently lay in wait for some pretext to retaliate.

THE quinquennial review of the Senate, which happened in the following year (A. U. C. 704), soon afforded an opportunity (41). Appius Claudius, and Piso, father-in-law to Cæsar, were at this time chosen Censors (42): And the antient authority of those magistrates, which had been abridged by the laws of Clodius, being now restored, it could again be exercised with its former rigour (43). Loose in his principles, and licentious in his conduct, Appius hoped, by a show of severity, to retrieve his ruined character, and pass for a model of antient virtue. To the practice of dissimulation, in this scheme, he joined also the motives of political intrigue. He was hostile to Cæsar, and closely connected with Pompey (44); and he thought the opportunity fair for both indulging the one, and forwarding the other, by removing from the Senate such persons as he knew to be in the interest of the former.

THE Censorship, as was to be expected, opened with a rigid scrutiny into the lives of individuals. Knights and Freedmen were stigmatized, at the will and pleasure of Appius: Senators were wantonly degraded from their rank; and Sallust, as we find, together with many of the nobility, suffered that disgrace (45). From the nature of the Censorian regulations, it is obvious how easy it was to find a pretext on the score of manners: Hence we are informed, by a fragment of Asconius Pedianus, and by other antient Grammarians, of a *report* which prevailed, that the historian's intrigues with the wives and daughters of Freedmen were the crimes laid to his charge, and, as it is said, acknowledged on this occasion (46).

An attempt at reformation, so vain and unseasonable, tended only to provoke contempt, or to excite ridicule; and, in fact, it obstructed those party views it was designed to promote. The reflecting despised, and the witty derided, this virtuous Censor of the manners, whose own abandoned character was thus more fully brought forward to public notice (47); while his colleague Piso, perceiving that the minds of men were thereby alienated from Pompey's cause, made no opposition to a violence so admirably calculated to procure new friends to Cæsar (48). The loss of his Senatorian rank sensibly affected Sallust, who saw his views of preferment for the present baffled: He, however, consoled himself with the reflection, that numbers, besides himself, had shared in the same indignity, and were wantonly aspersed from private prejudice, and the hatred of a faction.

Further injustice of his Biographers.

It is singular, notwithstanding all the attempts that have been made to compose the life of Sallust, that this is the *first* time, as far as I know, that the account of his removal from the Senate has been stated with any tolerable impartiality. Crinitus, Vossius, and others appeal to Dion Cassius, as their authority for the fact; but they neither quote the passage itself from that historian, nor do they add the necessary information which he gives in the context. Le Clerc was resolved, at all events, to defame our author; and for the servility of his followers, in adopting his statement, it is not difficult to account, when we remember how much easier it, at all times, is to assent to, than to refute a confident assertion; as he who subscribes to it indulges, at once, in his indolence and his prejudices. Even the President de Brosses, although disposed, in

general, to investigate the truth, has, in this instance, adopted the calumnies of Le Clerc, in the face of the testimony of antient authors; while M. Meisner attributes to them assertions, which no eye but his own has been able to discover in their works (49).

In regard to Le Clerc, his account is, as usual, virulent and uncandid. In the first place, he garbles the evidence of Dion Cassius. In the second place, he purposely omits the satisfactory, though collateral information from Cicero; both of which the reader will find here quoted in the Notes. In the third place, he substitutes, instead of these, the vague report of the Grammarians, and the absurd abuse of the Declaimer, thereby wishing to make it appear that our author was degraded from his rank, not on account of his political attachments, but solely on the score of manners so scandalous, as to call for the interference of the public magistrate. What has particularly tended to support this misrepresentation of Le Clerc's, is Sallust's quarrel with Cicero. Any tale against the enemy of the great orator was sure to be easily received, and as piously propagated, by his ardent admirers; and thus a statement which disguised, if it did not falsify the facts, has by degrees gained credit with the classical reader. As I am not among the number of those, who would attribute an immaculate purity to Sallust, so I have stated above the *report*, which Asconius Pedianus and the Grammarians relate to have been prevalent, and fairly left it to its weight with the reader. We should only remember, that the historian was guilty of a crime, in the eyes of Appius of a far deeper dye than this allegation, could it be substantiated, that of repugnance and hostility to the ruling faction.

In these circumstances, it seems extremely probable, that Sallust withdrew from Rome, about the beginning of the year 704, and, together with many others, set out to join the army in Gaul, under the command of Cæsar (50).

Cæsar's return from Gaul, and the defeat of Pompey. Sallust regains his Senatorian rank. Writes his first Letter to Cæsar.

The exploits of that great man, during the year 704, and the memorable one of 705 that followed, are sufficiently known. By the command of a powerful army, and the conduct of an important war, he had paved the way for the gratification of his ambition (51), and was ready to enter Italy, at the head of troops devoted to his interest, formidable from their discipline, and fierce with the recollection of their Gallic victories. In the year first mentioned, after the critical passage of the Rubicon (52), he proceeded to the gates of Rome, and easily bore down all opposition. Pompey, after a short, but ineffectual resistance, was driven out of Italy, and finally, in 705, defeated at Pharsalia.

It is probable that Sallust attended the conqueror of Gaul, in the memorable campaign of 704, in Spain, as well as in Italy (53). Of the real cause of his friend's degradation Cæsar could not be ignorant; and the time was now come, when he had it in his power to do ample justice to his character. Being, on his return from Spain, created Dictator, Sallust, through his influence, obtained the Quæstorship for the second time, in little more than a year after his expulsion from the Senate, and, in consequence, the repossession of his seat in that assembly (54).

Learned men have conjectured, and with great likelihood, that our author's First political discourse in the form of a Let-

ter, concerning the Administration of the Government, and erroneously called the Second, was addressed to Cæsar about this period. To an attentive reader, who peruses the two discourses, it will appear evident, from the different facts they record, that their order has been inverted (55). That, in which the writer speaks of Domitius, who fell in the rout at Pharsalia, and of Bibulus, who died before the engagement, as persons then living, is obviously the First Letter; and the other is as clearly the Second, as it was not written till the siege of Alexandria.

In the former piece, addressed to Cæsar, about the autumn of the year 704, we perceive few traces of the calmness of the philosopher, or the impartiality of the historian; qualities, which peculiarly characterize the other writings of Sallust. Here every thing breathes a spirit of faction, fomented by personal, or political prejudices, and seasoned with a flattery not always the most delicate. In terms remarkable for vehemence and asperity, he urges Cæsar to prosecute his design, and put himself at the head of a distracted state; a measure, to which the conqueror was by no means indisposed to listen, and which the anxiety of Sallust might safely have spared.

During the year 705, our author remained at Rome, in order to discharge the duties of his office; while his patron passed over to Greece, and overthrew Pompey, on the plains of Thessaly. On the tide of success, he resolved to follow him to the east: But, in Egypt, the stroke of an assassin soon freed him from the only rival, whose fame or influence was able to alarm his jealousy, or counteract his designs (56). Under co-

lour of bringing to justice the author of the deed, the conquest of Egypt was the next exploit performed by Cæsar: And, from henceforward, the road was open to an undivided possession of the supreme power. During the siege of Alexandria, in the following year, he had conferred upon him, at once, the dignity of Dictator, Consul, and Tribune of the People; offices by the constitution incompatible with one another, but of which the power was irresistible, in the hands of a single man. What a conqueror might command, we may easily believe he had little trouble to solicit, from an obsequious Senate: To the eyes of his successors, however, it laid open the art of exercising, under republican names, every licence and prerogative of the kingly government.

His Second Political Discourse. Scope and character of the two pieces.

In this posture of affairs, Sallust composed his Second Letter on the Administration of the Government. The heat and animosity, discernible in his first production, had now greatly subsided: Accordingly, the Second Letter is the effort of a writer, at once informed by knowledge, and less guided by private prepossessions; and breathing, at the same time, an ardent desire for the interests of the community. Sallust, without doubt, had a just discernment of the spirit of the Roman constitution, as well as the real origin of the public calamities; and of the latter the efficient causes are acutely, though cursorily traced, in the two Letters in question.

In the First, looking forward to the overthrow of Pompey, for whom he had no esteem, and rejoicing, in the Second, at that event, he hoped that a propitious calm would yet succeed,

to heal the wounds of the state. By admitting the sole ascendency of Cæsar, the ambition of many would receive a salutary check, without destroying the image of a free constitution. Besides, the opportunity was fair for expressing gratitude to his patron, as well as giving a favourable specimen of his own talents. After a grateful offer of the incense of adulation to the Dictator, he shortly takes a view of the vices of the times, and the disorders of the government, and attacks them with a keen, and animated declamation. He strenuously urges a radical change in the national manners; the dereliction of avarice; and, if possible, an utter extirpation from the breast of the love of money, by bringing the virtues of temperance and sobriety into fashion; next to these objects, the reform of the army, the augmentation of the Senate, and the useful employment of the people. With a manly freedom, he exhorts his patron to recal the constitution to its first principles; to restore a firm and liberal system, the substance, not the shadow of rational liberty; and, above all, to preserve the blessings, and to cultivate the arts of peace.

These Letters are not known and admired in proportion to their merit. With the exception of some theories, which are puerile as well as fanciful, they are compositions of uncommon elegance and energy; full of judicious reflections, and manly sentiments. They open an interesting view of the genius, policy, and manners of Rome, at the close of the Republic, and show what notion the Romans had acquired of the principles of political philosophy, as applicable to the government of cultivated states. That Cæsar approved of the mild and enlightened views here displayed we may pretty confidently conclude,

from the tenour of his own glorious, but short-lived administration: And it is further worthy of remark, that some of the hints for reform, thrown out by our author, were afterwards improved by the discernment of Augustus, and adopted into the system of that politic emperor (57).

Sallust promoted to the Prætorship. He marries Terentia. Genius and character of that lady.

How far the fame or the interest of Sallust was promoted by these pieces we have no means of knowing; but it is certain that he continued to flourish in the esteem and confidence of Cæsar. A. U. C. 707, when the latter became Consul, with Æmilius Lepidus, our author was raised to the Prætorship by his interest, and attended him in the expedition to Africa (58). Nearly about this time also, and at the age of forty, Sallust married Terentia, one of the most remarkable women of her time. She had been the wife of Cicero, by whom she was recently divorced (59); and, what was extraordinary, after being the mother of his children, and sharing in his fortunes more than thirty years.

Terentia was a woman of high birth, whether, according to some, her origin be traced from the stock of the Terentii, originally a Sabine family, who could boast of giving to the republic a Tribune of the People, as far back as the year of Rome 294 (60); or whether, according to others, she sprung from another house of the Terentii, from which was descended the Consul Varro, the unfortunate general at the battle of Cannæ, and that more celebrated person of the same name, the well-known writer in the age of Sallust (61). To illustrious lineage this woman united the possession of uncommon talents. She was bold and imperious, ambitious and penetrating, and

had acquired, during her connection with her former husband, no mean acquaintance with public affairs. In the height of his prosperity, it appears that she assumed the chief distribution of his favours, arrogating to herself (says Plutarch), as Cicero himself acknowledges, a far greater share in politics, than she suffered him to assume in domestic business (62). In his family, her temper was jealous and haughty. She frequently neglected, as inferior considerations, all female duties; and the conduct of her household was, by consequence, without economy or order. But the absolute ascendant, which, by long habit, Terentia had acquired over the great orator's mind, led her to govern him with caprice and tyranny. During the war, in particular, while he was absent from Rome, we find that she acted with singular imprudence; and his complaints on the subject sufficiently attest the forbearance of a patient husband (63). On his return from Pompey's camp, Cicero determined to obtain a divorce; irritated, as he then was, by fresh instances of her extravagance, by the debts she had contracted, and by her neglectful treatment of his daughter Tullia (64). A. U. C. 707, a separation, at length, took place; and, very soon after, she formed a new connection with his former enemy (65).

To the historian, at least, it does not appear that this match could be very desirable, either from inclination, or from policy. A mutual dislike, indeed, to Cicero, might tend to cement a union, for which, on any other grounds, it would not be easy to account. Terentia, on the one side, descended to an alliance certainly inferior in dignity to her former choice; and, on the other, Sallust solicited the hand of a woman with-

out youth or beauty, who was older than himself (66), and of whose temper and character he could not well be ignorant. An inconsiderable fortune, which, according to law, Cicero was obliged to restore to her, might possibly preponderate in the scale (67). Be that as it may, it is evident that this lady must have possessed uncommon attractions. After the death of Sallust (more than ten years posterior to the present period), she drew the admiration, and became the wife of Messala Corvinus, the celebrated orator (68); thus boasting to have been successively connected with three persons, more illustrious, perhaps, for eloquence and genius, than ever espoused the same woman, in any age (69).

Sallust appointed Lieutenant to Cæsar. The Legions mutiny. Firmness and narrow escape of the historian.

THE flame of civil war, notwithstanding the successes of Cæsar, was not yet extinguished. In Africa, towards the close of the year 706, the scattered remains of Pompey's party had begun to rally under Cato and Scipio, Sylla, Petreius, and Afranius (70); who, having gained over to their views Juba, king of Mauritania (71), endeavoured to maintain themselves in that continent. Cæsar soon perceived the necessity of making head against so dangerous a combination. The name of Scipio, he knew, was thought invincible in Africa: He, therefore, resolved without delay to assemble his forces, and oppose to popular prejudice the irresistible powers of vigour and activity (72). Among other officers, the Prætor Sallust was appointed one of his Lieutenants, with directions to put himself at the head of a body of troops, composed of the 10th Legion and some others, on whose valour and fidelity reliance might be placed; and, taking the route to Capua, to march to the nearest port, from which they might pass over to the African coast (73).

The troops, it seems, were wholly ignorant of their destination. They began their march, and proceeded as far as the sea-shore: But, when orders were given to prepare for embarkation, a violent mutiny broke out among the men, and they refused to obey their commanding officer. The veterans declared, after so many years of fatigue and danger, that it was their firm resolution not to stir out of Italy. They loudly demanded their dismission from the service; and all joined in insisting, that the donative, promised them at Pharsalia, should instantly be paid up (74).

In this critical juncture, Sallust manifested no want of resolution. He laboured, by every method, to allay the tumult; denouncing immediate vengeance against the ring-leaders of the mutiny. He represented, to the best disposed, that the war had by no means been brought to a termination. As long as the enemy kept the field, he said, it was vain to talk of the enjoyment of peace, or the recompense of victory; adding, that a thousand Drachmas should be paid to every man (75), over and above all former demands, on the close of the expedition (76). Threats and promises, however, proved alike ineffectual. From insolent murmurs the mutineers proceeded to open violence; when the Prætor, seeing that he idly hazarded his own safety, without in any wise contributing to restore subordination, set out for Rome, in order to report the insurrection to Cæsar.

No sooner was his departure known among the men, than their fury exceeded all former bounds. The most desperate of the malecontents sallied forth, in quest of their commanding officer, wildly putting to the sword whomsoever they met. Even some Senators, and men of rank lost their lives in

the scuffle. Without delay, the whole body took the route to Rome; and, had not Sallust fortunately been beyond their reach, he would, without doubt, have fallen a sacrifice to their fury (77).

Cæsar had intelligence of their arrival; and, learning that they had tumultuously assembled in the Campus Martius, he hastened to the spot, where he gave an example of that powerful ascendency, which he ever possessed over the minds of the troops. It was on this occasion that he is said to have composed their fury, by the memorable application of a single expression, "Romans" *(Quirites)!* instead of that more endearing title of "fellow Soldiers," by which he usually addressed them (78). With one accord they returned to their duty, and, in the end, offered themselves to be decimated, in expiation of their offence (79).

Expedition to Africa. Sallust takes the island of Cercina. Is appointed Governor of Africa.

Soon after this, Cæsar landed in Africa, about the month of January, in spite of the inconveniencies of the winter-solstice, and the unpropitious auguries of the Soothsayers, and, coming on his enemies, who were unprepared, brought the war in that quarter to a prosperous issue (80). By the sudden manner, it seems, of his departure from Italy, magazines and stores had not been provided in sufficient abundance. The victualling-transports, likewise, had, through contrary winds, parted from the fleet; and, on his arrival in Africa, serious apprehensions were entertained of a scarcity of provisions for the army.

A few days after the debarkation of the troops, intelligence being brought, that a valuable magazine of corn and other stores had been formed at Cercina (81), then in the hands of the enemy, Sal-

lust was dispatched with a detachment of the fleet, and peremptory orders to make himself master of the island. "As to "the possibility of the attempt," said Cæsar to his Lieutenant, on giving him his instructions, "it is needless to deliberate: "Our circumstances are such as admit of no room for delay, "and no excuse for disappointment (82)." The vigorous character of Sallust was not calculated to disappoint the confidence thus reposed in him; and he executed the service with equal celerity and success.

CAIUS Decimius, who had the rank of Quæstor, at that time commanded at Cercina, where he had been stationed for the protection of the stores. This officer no sooner was informed that the squadron under Sallust was off the coast, than, getting on board a small vessel, which accident threw in his way, he quickly put to sea, and abandoned the island to the enemy. The Cercinians were favourably disposed to the Dictator's interest, and received his Lieutenant with open arms. In the place the Prætor found a valuable magazine of corn and provisions; and, there being no want of transports in the harbour, he ordered the whole to be shipped without delay, and proceeded with it, under a strong convoy, to the camp of Cæsar (83).

WHAT other exploits were performed by our author, during the war in Africa, has not been recorded. That he was no officer we are well assured, either from his habits of education, or his former experience. But a natural vigour and energy of character supplied the deficiency of military skill, and enabled him to act, in a conspicuous station, with honour to himself, and with equal satisfaction to his discerning patron. In regard to his services, the presumption is that they were pretty consider-

able; as Cæsar, on setting out for Italy, appointed him to the government of the African province, with an army under his command, and the rank of Proconsul (84).

After the battle of Thapsus, and the death of Cato and Scipio, of Petreius, Juba, Sylla, and Afranius (85), Mauritania submitted to the Roman arms: So that that kingdom, together with all Numidia, and the extensive districts of Lybia, that border on the sea, were by Cæsar consolidated into the Roman Province, stretching, without interruption, from Carthage to the western ocean. The paternal fortune of Sallust does not appear to have been great. A Proconsular government, of such importance and extent, was intended, by the Dictator, to place him in a situation of independent affluence; a recompense which, we must acknowledge, he amply merited, by a course of uniform, and steady attachment (86).

He projects the history of the conquest of Numidia. Malversations of Sallust in his government.

From his residence in Numidia, we have good reason to think, that the idea of writing the history of the conquest of that country, was first suggested to the mind of Sallust. The composition, or, at least, the publication of the piece, as we may perceive from the preface, did not take place, till after his final retirement from public business (87); although the present opportunities were diligently improved, by procuring information, and collecting materials. Not satisfied with examining the different accounts, written as well as traditionary, concerning the history of Africa, and particularly the antient archives preserved by King Hiempsal (88), he visited the various scenes, where decisive engagements, or memorable events had taken place; resolved to draw, wherever it was possible, not from vague report, but from the certain sources of observation and experience (89). Accordingly, the Jugurthine War has

been ranked, by the critics, among the master-pieces of historical composition; valuable not more for the beauty and eloquence of its style, than the authenticity of the facts, and the accuracy of the topographical descriptions.

It were fortunate for Sallust, had he been able, in his government, to exemplify the precepts he laid down, or escape the errors he reprehended in his writings. But the pure and elegant moralist we so highly admire, and the Proconsular governor of Africa, were characters widely different. The historian was in haste to grow rich, and he seems to have felt little scruple about the means. He forgot the severity of the maxims so lately displayed, with admirable energy, in his Letters to Cæsar. The ingenious proposal for extinguishing the love of riches in the human breast, was a speculation sufficiently pleasing; but he had no design to realize it, by his own example. Accepting the province, as Cæsar seems to have bestowed it, for the improvement of his fortune (90), he freely exercised every method, by which the Roman governors enriched themselves, at the expence of their subjects; and, in about a year, he returned to Rome, in possession of wealth sufficiently considerable to skreen him from justice.

The Africans, according to the practice of the aggrieved provinces (91), set on foot a prosecution against the late governor. But he well knew how to elude the vengeance of his enemies. By the interest of Cæsar, the prosecution was quashed; and our author compounded for the payment, as it is said, to the Dictator himself, of twelve hundred thousand Sesterces, equal nearly to nine thousand seven hundred pounds of our money (92).

His conduct less culpable, when compared with that of other celebrated characters.

For the reputation of an illustrious writer it were certainly desirable, if we could throw a veil over this disgraceful period of his life; and as the antient historian, who has recorded the most material fact, lies under no suspicion of a bias from prejudice, so we are are forced to believe that he has told the truth. On other occasions, where calumny has been wantonly, or carelessly propagated, candour may reject it, without regard to distinguished names, or dogmatical assertions: But here we may truly say with the poet,

Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.

In judging, however, of the actions of men, let it not be forgotten, that other considerations must sometimes be taken into the account, besides the rigid standard of moral rectitude; as the situation and circumstances in which they are placed, the manners of the times, and the conduct of cotemporaries. In the eighth century of Rome, it is beyond a doubt that the manners of the commonwealth had miserably degenerated. Amidst the corruption which distinguished that age, it were vain to look for the virtue and the disinterestedness of that of Fabricius. The administration of the provinces had ever been regarded as the great object of Patrician ambition. It was the road to wealth, the reward of public services; and, in fact, it furnished the chief means, by which the nobles were enabled to support the dignity of their rank. In those distant situations, they were wholly freed from the control of the Senate, as well as the observation of the people. Their authority was despotic, and without a check: The acceptance, therefore, of bribes, or the exercise of rapacity, came soon to be consi-

dered as a venial error, and, at length, almost ceased to fix a stain on the reputation.

To prove, by examples, the truth of this remark, would be an endless, no less than an unnecessary task. Lucius Opimius, the venal tool of Jugurtha (93), Æmilius Scaurus, the associate of Marius, in his enormous exactions on the provinces (94), and his son, the scourge and oppressor of Sardinia (95), may just be mentioned. Those persons, notwithstanding, were considered as the ornaments of their country: One of them is loudly celebrated by Valerius Maximus, and all the three have attracted the commendation of Cicero. The difficulty was, at this period, not to find individuals, who would have acted like Sallust, but those who, in circumstances of similar temptation, were possessed of virtue, that was less easily overcome.

But it will be said, and with some justice, that the historian should be judged on other principles. He, who erects himself into the chair of instruction, virtually, though tacitly, challenges a comparison of his life with his precepts; and it is by the severe rule of the latter that he will inevitably be estimated, whatever be the criterion for forming a judgment of other men. The standard unluckily has been supplied by himself; and all are ready to seize the fair occasion of demonstrating its use, and ascertaining its accuracy. Few are the men, in any age, who, like Cicero, could lay down the finest lessons for the statesman, or the magistrate, and what they thus composed, in the retirement of their study, they had the firmness, and the rectitude to reduce to practice (96). On reflection,

we shall find, that, as no man has the power of acting equal to that of thinking, so his conduct cannot always exemplify his rules; and that he may frequently seem worse, merely because it was expected he should be better, than the generality of the world. It is not with any view to exculpate Sallust, whom it is impossible to defend, that I make these observations. It is for the purpose of reducing to moderation, and of tempering with liberality, the extravagant censures, that have been heaped upon his conduct (97).

Sallust retires from public business. His delightful residence on the Quirinal hill. The Sallustian Gardens.

THE prosecution, set on foot by the Africans, against our author, had been but a short time brought to a conclusion, when Cæsar was assassinated in the Senate-house. In him Sallust lost a valuable friend, and a powerful protector; and Rome, by this stroke, instead of being asserted to freedom, saw her neck prepared for a fresh yoke, and had soon cause to regret the first, and the greatest of the Cæsars. Sallust was now determined to withdraw from public life. The business of his African exactions had fixed upon his character a degree of reproach, which, however it might be incurred, or merited by others, the partiality of self-love was sure to extenuate. He felt the extent of his own powers: And if, among contemporaries, he was exposed to envy, and missed the pleasing distinction of popular esteem, he might rest his merits on a firmer basis, and appeal to the justice of posterity.

SEEING himself in possession of an affluent fortune, and enabled to pass the remainder of his days in ease and splendour, he purchased an ample tract of ground, on the Quirinal hill, in that district of Rome, called from its situation the Alta Semita,

where the prospect is more delightful, and the air is thought more pure, than in any other quarter of the city. Here Sallust erected a magnificent house, which, with the various buildings connected with it, covered an extensive surface; and, adjoining to the house, he laid out those famous Gardens, so often mentioned, and so highly extolled by the antients, as the pride and ornament of Rome (98). From the account of M. de Brosses, who surveyed the spot with the eye of a scholar, they must have stretched over a vast circuit; comprehending, besides a considerable space now uncultivated, the scite of three stately churches, Madonna della Vittoria, St. Suzanna, and St. Nicolas; the street called Salaria; the ruins of the ancient Circus of Flora, or, more properly, the Erycinian Venus of Sallust; besides the whole of the present noble Negroni gardens, the bottom of those of Barberini, and the greatest part of those of Ludovisio (99).

In front of his house, towards the street, where the church of St. Susanna now stands (100), Sallust constructed a spacious market-place, for his own, as well as for the accommodation of that quarter of the city; where every article, whether for use or luxury, was bought and sold. This market-place, although called the Sallustian, might possibly receive its name from the circumstance of its being situated in the immediate neighbourhood of our author's residence (1). But the likelihood is, that, agreeably to the patriotic custom, among the Romans, of dedicating private wealth to objects of public utility, it owed its existence to the munificence of the historian.

The other front of Sallust's house looked to the Gardens. Here every beauty of nature, and every embellishment of art

seem to have been assembled, that could delight or gratify the senses. Umbrageous walks, open parterres, and cool porticos, displayed their various attractions. Amidst shrubs and flowers of every hue and odour, interspersed with statues of the most exquisite workmanship, pure streams of water preserved the verdure of the earth, and the temperature of the air; and while, on the one hand, the distant prospect caught the eye, on the other, the close retreat invited to repose or meditation (2).

At the further extremity of this charming spot, Sallust had erected baths, in a style the most magnificent. They were supplied by the water, which gave freshness and luxuriance to the Gardens; and it flowed along the hill, in pipes and aqueducts, constructed with vast expence and labour (3). Not far from the baths, rose the temple of the Sallustian Venus; and, beyond it, a Circus dedicated to the same goddess, called the Circus of the Erycinian, or Venus of Sallust. This Circus, as well as the temple itself, although the work of an earlier age, had been, about this period, repaired and decorated by our author's taste and liberality (4). The temple was of an oval form, supported, on all sides, by marble columns of the Corinthian order. Four separate doors, with four flights of steps that led to them, formed the spacious entrance; and each door-piece was upheld by two columns of transparent oriental alabaster (5). An elegant statue of the goddess of love, with Cupid by her side, occupied the middle of the sanctuary, of which the pavement was inlaid with mosaic-work, and the walls covered with Grecian marble (6).

These improvements, in process of time, were found too superb and extensive for a private individual. On the death of

our author, or in the time of his nephew and successor, they became imperial property (7); and the Sallustian palace and Gardens were, from that period, the favourite residence of successive emperors. It was here that the celebrated and voluptuous entertainments, called Dodecathea, were given by Augustus (8). The taste of Vespasian greatly preferred them to the palace of the Cæsars (9). Even the virtuous Nerva, and the stern Aurelian, were attracted by their beauty; and, while at Rome, had seldom any other place of abode (10).

UNDER those masters of the world, it may be imagined that various improvements were made upon the original design and decorations of Sallust. Whatsoever the pencil or the chissel had produced as most exquisite of its kind; whatsoever else could be commanded by expence, or contrived by ingenuity, was here brought together with equal taste and profusion: Accordingly, it is in this place that some of the most valuable remains of Greek and Roman art have, at different times, been discovered (11). The Hermaphrodite of the Villa Borgheze; the Faunus of the Villa Medici; the expiring Mirmillo (12); the Gladiator and Faustina; the young Papirius deceiving his Mother as to the deliberations of the Senate (13); the celebrated group of Niobe and her Children (14); these deserve particularly to be mentioned, and are well known to the statuary; while the fine picture, in fresco, of the recumbent Venus; the group called the Nymphæum; and the emblematical representation of Rome in Triumph, are equally valued by the painter (15), and serve to convey some notion how superbly the Gardens of Sallust were adorned, by the skill of the ancient artists.

But the incomparable genius of the first possessor has, more than all the rest, consecrated and preserved that favourite spot, when the perishable memorials of pride and power have, for the most part, been forgotten. After the lapse of more than eighteen centuries, the scholar or the antiquary still traces it, with interest, amidst the ruins of Rome, where it will long perpetuate his taste and magnificence. The palace itself, erected by Sallust, stood entire till the beginning of the fifth century, when the city was taken, and sacked by Alaric. It was then consumed, with many other public and private buildings; "and remained," says an elegant historian, "in the days of Justinian, a stately monument of the Gothic conflagration." (16)

The historian's villa at Tivoli. Union of luxury with literary diligence.

Nor was the country residence of the historian less splendid and commodious. He purchased a considerable estate round Tibur (now Tivoli), a beautiful village on the Anio (17), about twenty miles from Rome, the resort, during the summer months, of the principal Roman nobility; and to that possession he added the elegant house there built by Cæsar (18).

At this delightful villa, or at his house in the city, Sallust passed the last nine years of his life; dividing his time between the composition of his history, the society of his friends, and the enjoyment of an abundant fortune. Messala Corvinus, Cornelius Nepos, and Nigidius Figulus, are among the men of wit and learning of that day, who lived with him in habits of intimacy (19); and to these we may add Lucullus, and, probably also, Horace, who, about this time, had begun to distinguish himself (20). The noble house and library of Lucullus were then

the great resort of persons of fashion and literature at Rome; and, as an evidence of his connection and intercourse with our author, it was to him that Sallust dedicated his General History. In regard to the poet, he had received, from Mæcenas, a present of a house at Tivoli, of which he has celebrated the romantic beauty (21). Here he loved to retire from the smoke and noise of the capital; and it is natural to imagine, that he would be attracted by the fame of Sallust, and, above all, by a temper, and by manners so extremely congenial to his own.

THE implacable animosity, which has pursued our author even to the shade of retirement, takes pleasure in figuring, during this period, his sluggish sensuality, and his gross and vicious indulgencies (22). But the elegant philosopher of Tiburtum was not among the hogs of Epicurus's stye. With much better reason we may assert, that as he well knew the importance of adhering to the temperate dictates of nature, so he prudently mingled relaxation and pleasure with the most arduous efforts of the mind (23). It was his fixed principle that the enjoyment, which caries its votaries to excess, quickly palls on the sated appetite; and, while it dissolves the firmness of intellectual vigour, is fatal even to its own duration (24). The austerity of antient manners, it is true, was not his taste. He was fond of elegance, and even of luxury: Yet it was a luxury of that refined species which is skilful in improving the gratifications of sense with the keen relish of labour, as well as with the colouring of taste and fancy.

THE truth is, rank and affluence have ever wanted incentives to industry. Amidst the fascination of perpetual plea-

sure, it is their misfortune not to know those powerful motives to exertion, that spring from necessity, or the love of fame: And on this account we see, that the wise, in all ages, are agreed in applauding that happy state, not above mediocrity, and yet possessing independence, as the most favourable to genius (25). These disadvantages, however, were counterbalanced by the admirable energy of Sallust's character. In a seclusion from public affairs, he resolutely determined not to forget the value of time, or to sink into a listless inactivity. The gifts of fortune, beyond a certain point, he experimentally felt, as he has forcibly described them, to be of little value. Drawing a conclusion from the shortness of life, and the actual extent of our faculties, he steadily looked forward to that pleasing existence, which in honest fame, and the applause of posterity, he hoped he should find beyond the grave (26).

He publishes the Conspiracy of Catiline, and the Jugurthine War. His Great History.

THUS fortified against the seductions of indolence, Sallust entered on the arduous duty of Historian. The account of Catiline's Conspiracy, a favourite subject, which he had long had in contemplation, was now diligently prepared for the public eye. In his youth, we have seen that he was a spectator of that memorable event; and his intervals of leisure might possibly be employed in collecting the documents, which he was afterwards to fashion, and reduce to order.

THIS piece was soon followed by his history of the Jugurthine War, a composition, as has been observed, whether for matter or style, perhaps the most finished specimen of historical writing in antient times. From the acknowledged talents of the author, we can easily believe, that high

expectations were formed of the work. The governor of Africa had enjoyed every opportunity of information as to a continent then not accurately known to the Romans; accordingly it was read with the avidity and applause, which are usually called forth by a popular topic. His friends might blush at the effrontery of the writer, who, in an account of Numidia, the scene of his own malversations, could gravely deplore the rapacity of governors, and the scandalous corruption of deputies and generals. As for his enemies, their triumph, of course, was complete, when they perceived him railing, amidst wealth and splendour, at that very conduct, by means of which they had so recently been procured (27)!

Soon after this, it appears that Sallust considerably improved on his plan of writing. Prompted by success and celebrity, he was, erelong, induced to commence an undertaking on a scale much more extended; and the two pieces he had already published naturally suggested the idea. The war with Jugurtha, which was the first in the order of time, had broken out A. U. C. 641; although the historian's narrative was deduced from the reign of Masinissa, or at least from the time when Numantia was taken, and destroyed by Scipio Africanus, An. 620; and it is closed with the capture of Jugurtha, under the conduct of Marius, in 648. Between this time and the era of Catiline's Conspiracy, A. U. C. 690, a space of two-and-forty years had elapsed, full of intestine and foreign wars, of important and eventful revolutions; and it appeared an enterprize not unworthy of our author, to unite the two periods, by composing the history of so memorable an interval. Taking

up the thread of his narrative, therefore, at the triumph of Marius for the reduction of Numidia, he continued it through the course of the famous Social War: He delineated that begun against Mithridates; then the first Civil War in Italy, together with the bloody contest between Marius and Sylla; next the Dictatorship of the latter; the disturbances occasioned by Lepidus; the noble stand made, in Spain, by Sertorius and Perpenna; the insurrection of the Gladiators; the overthrow of the Pirates; and, finally, the conquests in Asia, under the command of Lucullus (28).

THIS valuable work, as we find, was comprized in Five, or, as some will have it, in Eleven books (29); and dedicated to Lucullus himself, whose exploits were recorded in the fifth, and who had recently triumphed for his Asiatic victories. Thus, by joining the last, and greatest labour of his life to his two former publications, Sallust exhibited an interesting series of Roman History, extending nearly from the death of the Gracchi, down to the era of the first Triumvirate, and including a space of about three-score years.

Conjectures concerning the lost writings of the historian.

SOME learned men are of opinion, that it were unjust to confine the industry of Sallust within such narrow limits. He, who was so sedulous to transmit, to posterity, a picture of the preceding age, was of all authors, they allege, the most unlikely to pass over in silence the history of his own times, and the occurrences especially, in which he himself had conspicuously figured. The account of these they suppose to have perished, partly by accident or time, but still more, during the later ages, by the arts of those numerous partizans and admirers

of Livy, who thought the genius of their favourite author exalted, by the depression of a powerful rival (30). A history of the first Triumvirate, composed of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, which took place soon after Catiline's Conspiracy; the banishment of Cicero, and, afterwards, his assassination; Cæsar's expedition to Gaul and Britain; the murder of Clodius, and trial of Milo; the death of Pompey, and the elevation of the Dictator; all these, with Cæsar's campaigns in Egypt and Africa, they suppose must have proceeded from the pen of the historian, who would regard the death of that extraordinary man as the natural termination of his labours.

This sentiment, how consistent soever with probability, we must confess derives no direct support from the testimony of antient authors. The Grammarians have copiously quoted from the different books of the first mentioned series of history, but never specifically from the second series. In fact, it is to that circumstance that the Fragments of the former are indebted for their preservation; as the work itself seems to have disappeared, only a very short time before the age of Petrarch (31).

Such, including the two Political Discourses addressed, a few years before, to Cæsar (which have been mentioned in their proper place), is the complete list of Sallust's writings. In any view of his studies, how small is the portion that has survived the wreck of literature! The Jugurthine War, the Conspiracy of Catiline, his Letters to Cæsar, and some scanty remains of his Great History, are all that we can boast. They seem, like the remains of those noble amphitheatres, with

which they are coeval. Both are distinguished by simplicity and grandeur. Both are calculated to impress us with a high idea of the people that could relish, and the hand that could produce them; while the mouldering arch and broken column attest, at once, the beauty of either work, and the cruel ravages committed by time (32).

Death of Sallust. He is succeeded by his great-nephew Sallustius Crispus.

After nine years thus spent in luxurious elegance, and literary retirement, Sallust died at the age fifty-one, A. U. C. 718 (33); after laying the foundation of that wealth and splendour, in which his family flourished after him. His death happened during the Consulship of Lucius Cornificius and Sextus Pompeius Nepos, and, as most authors have agreed, four years before the battle of Actium (34).

As he left no children, Sallustius Crispus, who has already been mentioned, was his heir by adoption (35), being the grandson of his sister Sallustia, who had been married to Helpidus. This youth assumed the family name, and enjoyed the ample fortune of his uncle. In process of time, he became one of the favourite ministers at the court of Augustus, and afterwards of Tiberius (36). Like his predecessor Mæcenas, whom he adopted as his model, and whose place he supplied in his master's favour, he affected never to rise above a private station; although, in fact, he was a principal actor in most of the scenes of political intrigue, and arbitrary execution, under those emperors (37). With the name and fortune of our author he seems also to have inherited some portion of his abilities; an uncommon reach of understanding, and capacity for business, united with the same turn for luxury, and love of letters. But the powers of the younger Sallust

were too frequently relaxed in indolence. He was roused to exertion only on the spur of the occasion; and his mind was never fired with that ambition of excellence, and that thirst of fame, which produced the admirable vigour and industry of the historian (38).

THE person of Sallust, from what we can learn, was dignified and pleasing. From a Bust of him still extant, in the Farneze palace at Rome, it appears that he had an animated and penetrating countenance, sufficiently corresponding with the high idea which we form of his talents and character (39). This Bust, from the superior style of the workmanship, antiquaries have agreed in referring to an early age, and probably that of Augustus, when sculpture still flourished in perfection. The name of the historian is not inscribed upon it: But its genuineness is verified by uniform tradition; and on the bust at Dusseldorf, which is a copy of the former, the designation is not omitted.

As to the Coins or Medals, which bear the name of Sallust, little can be gathered from them. They have been preserved by antiquaries, aud copied by biographers: But their number is small, and their execution both coarse and contemptible. They have evidently been struck during the lower empire, when arts as well as letters had miserably degenerated (40).

TERENTIA, not long after Sallust's death, as has been already noticed, espoused Messala Corvinus, the famous orator, and intimate friend of her late husband. So far down as the second year of the reign of Tiberius, we find her married, for

the third time, to Vibius Rufus, a person of some distinction in that era: And, according to Pliny and other writers, she lived to the uncommon age of at least a hundred and seven (41).

Subsequent eminence of his family. The Præfect of the same name under the Emperor Julian.

As to the house of the Sallustii, it continued, to a late period, to figure in the Roman annals. In the year of the city 1096, we perceive, from the Fasti Consulares, that there was a Consul of the name of Sallust; a second in 1115 (A. D. 362); and Suidas has preserved notices of others, at different times men of eminence in the state.

But the most remarkable of all was, beyond question, the last of the Consuls just now mentioned, the celebrated Sallust during the reign of Julian; the friend, the preceptor, and the virtuous favourite of that emperor (42). Under Julian, he held the high offices of Prætorian Præfect, and governor of Gaul, and attended the prince in his unfortunate Assyrian expedition (43). After being an eye-witness of his master's death, Sallust had the moderation to decline the imperial purple; and he even enjoyed the glory of a second refusal, in presence of the assembled chiefs of the empire, just before the election of Valentinian (44). From the pen of the son it appears that the antient annotation must have proceeded, which was found, by M. de Brosses, inscribed on two M.S. copies of Tacitus and Apuleius, and preserved in the Medicean library at Florence; as the annotation imports that the author flourished in the latter end of the fourth century of our era, and bears date A. U. C. 1147 (or A. D. 394), during the Consulship of Probinus and Olybrius (45).

Reflections on the character of Sallust.

In the foregoing pages, I have endeavoured to give an impartial view of the life and genius of one of the greatest writers that Rome ever produced; a formal summary of his character, therefore, will, in this place, be needless. His literary merits shall be reserved as the subject of another Essay.

We have already seen, in a multitude of instances, the unjust and partial account of the life of Sallust by Le Clerc; and I have given my reasons, as occasion offered, for distrusting the jaundiced eye, and rejecting the dark caricatura of that virulent critic. The truth is, if we except Rowe, de Brosses, and a few others, the censure of extraordinary carelessness or determined aversion, will, in a certain, though not in an equal degree, attach to most of the biographers of this celebrated author.

Perhaps it were fortunate for Sallust, had the circumstances of his life been either more minutely authenticated, or remained altogether unknown. What, in the former case, he might have gained from truth, cannot now be estimated; but in the latter, his memory would alike have escaped the malevolence of enemies, and the mistaken partiality of friends. His character, beyond question, has met, from his contemporaries, with but little justice, and certainly still less from his biographers. As the tenour of his life was at considerable variance with his precepts, and his philosophy, so we must candidly class him with those pleasing teachers, who, while they discourse like angels, often act like men. Yet little obligation will be felt to the writers, who, by absurdly exaggerating the failings of the indivi-

dual, have weakened the influence of the moralist. It is fortunate that the mind separates the notion of the latter from the former with great reluctance. It clings to that useful illusion, which holds forth the compositions of an author as a perfect transcript of his character; and it dwells, with delight, on the view of all others the most exalted of human excellence, that of uncommon genius united with uncommon virtue.

But the portrait of Sallust will, in an impartial age, be viewed through a medium less distorted than that, which a host of enemies, both antient and modern, have been anxious to hold up. The times in which he lived were most unpropitious to the manners; and candour will bear in mind how large an allowance, on the score of morals, must be granted to the condition of the pagan world. The light of that sublime and pure religion, which has been so fully dispensed to us, was refused to the most cultivated ages of Greece or Rome. The best and wisest of their philosophers continually bewildered themselves in the maze of metaphysics, in airy subtilties, in visions of abstract and useless speculation; and ethics, though studied as a science, were scarcely regarded as a rule of manners, and had little influence beyond the schools. In this sober view, perhaps, if we do not approve, we may the less rigidly scan, the conduct of Sallust. We may make a due abatement for ignorance and error, without becoming the apologists of licentiousness or depravity.

What our author himself has well observed of high birth, may, with equal justice, be applied to genius. Both have the

effect of casting an adventitious splendour around their possessor, and of magnifying the foulness of every stain, with which he is polluted (46). The vices or crimes of the great, as well as the little vulgar, are soon forgiven, and forgotten by the world: But the weaknesses of genius are often immortalized, and even exaggerated, with their fairest qualities, and their most delightful efforts, which are thus suffered to tarnish in the eyes of common men.

SALLUST, it may be truly affirmed, whatever was his *practice*, was too virtuous deliberately to abet, and propagate error, by admitting it into his *writings;* and we shall not commit the folly, as well as the injustice of Le Clere, by numbering *that* among the crimes, which posterity should lay to his charge (47). The striking contrast of the one with the other naturally occasioned the reproaches of his contemporaries, by whom his reputation and his wealth were alike envied. Yet what drew down the indignation of his own, should excite far other feelings in a distant age. We should remember, that, while his maxims must inform, his conduct can no longer offend; and generously believe, that the desire of compensating for his irregularities, not the vain hope of disguising them, was among the motives for compositions, which will instruct and delight the last generations of mankind (48).

FROM the contemplation of so mixed, and unequal a character every reader may derive some useful improvement. His vices may impress, upon youth and inexperience, the superior efficacy of an attention to the practice of duty, over barren precept, and the most splendid theories of virtue. The student

may incite his diligence by the example of the writer, who, in possession of every object, that was capable of begetting indolence, or ministering to sensuality, could yet rise to eminence in intellectual pursuits: And all may learn the importance of habituating the mind to the denial of present gratification, for the attainment of some distant, and transcendental good. It is thus that our author may be said to furnish a practical illustration of his own favourite precept, of rendering the lower propensities subservient to the higher faculties of our nature, and, in fact, to assert the ascendency, which he so eloquently claims for them. With this object of ambition continually before our eyes, and with talents far less splendid than those of Sallust, we can scarcely fail of success in any laudable pursuit, although we may not, like him, transmit our names to distant ages.

END OF ESSAY FIRST.

NOTES

ON

ESSAY FIRST,

ON THE

LIFE AND GENIUS OF SALLUST.

NOTES

ON

ESSAY FIRST.

Page 1.

Page 1. 2.

(1) *Peindre les hommes en déshabillé* is an art justly ascribed to Plutarch, by Montaigne, in his Essays, where he treats the subject with his usual vivacity.

Page 2.

(2) TACITUS tells us, that to draw up narratives of the lives of individuals, composed sometimes by themselves, and sometimes by others, was a usual practice, at Rome, during the old republic. To become his own biograpraphер, he says, no man considered as a mark of vain-glory or arrogance, but rather of an honest confidence in his morals andhis virtue. The practice, however, had begun to decay in a degenerate age. *Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere antiquitus usitatum... Plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare, fiduciam potiùs morum, quàm arrogantiam arbitrati sunt.* Vit. Agric. in Procem.—Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, Suetonius, and Diogenes Laërtius furnish the principal antient specimens, that subsist, of this sort of composition; and we may reckon the Letters of Cicero, of Seneca, and of the younger Pliny, as Biographical sketches, under a different title; for few writers have been more happy in delineating their own portraits. But by far the finest effort of antient biography existing we owe to the pen of Tacitus himself, in his Life of

Page 3. his father-in-law Agricola. It is written *con amore* (as the Italians express it), with a partial affection, as well as uncommon beauty and eloquence. That Tacitus did not more diligently cultivate the admirable talents for Biography, which he possessed, is much to be regretted; as his style, whatever may have been said of it by his French, or by his English admirers, is, without doubt, not the style for History. See, on this subject, the judicious observations of an excellent critic, Lord Monboddo, on the Roman Historians. Orig. and Prog. of Language, Vol. III. & V.

Page 3.

(3) To illustrate, by a striking example, the superiority of modern over antient biography, let the reader compare any of the meagre lives of Cornelius Nepos with the very masterly account of Tacitus, as given by Mr Murphy, in the Essay, which he has prefixed to his elegant Translation of the works of that historian. In this piece of critical biography, the extensive range, taken in modern times, will be clearly perceived: And the instance is the more remarkable on one account, that there are few antient characters of eminence, of whom we know so very little as of Tacitus; and few, therefore, of whose transactions it was more difficult to make any thing like a connected, or interesting narrative. According to the antient method, it must have been dismissed with but two or three strokes of the artist's pencil: In the hands of Mr Murphy, it forms, if not a complete, at least a most pleasing representation of the character he means to delineate.

(4) JOHNSON, in his Rasselas (the first of philosophical romances), touches, in a manner peculiar to himself, some of the most prominent features in the literary character. "To talk in public," says he, "to think in solitude, to read and to hear, to enquire, and to answer enquiries, is the business of the scholar. He wanders about the world without pomp or terrour, and is neither known nor valued, but by men like himself." Prince of Abyssinia, Ch. VIII.

(5) THERE is no man, who has extricated himself with greater felicity, from the difficulties of this situation, than Mr Murphy, in his "Essay on the Life and Genius of Tacitus," as I have above noticed. With a subject almost destitute of incident, and interesting only from the name of a great historian, he has displayed a happy mixture of historical incident with metaphysical criticism, and furnished a model to the writer of critical biography. Page 5.

(6) Few eminent persons, in any age, have, in this respect, been more unfortunate than Sallust; no account of him being extant, either from the pen of a contemporary, or, indeed, of any writer near the time in which he flourished. His Life, composed by Asconius Pedianus (See Acro, ad Horat. Sat. L. I. 2.), a diligent Commentator or Grammarian of the Augustan age, well known for his Scholia on Cicero's Orations, would have been a valuable work. This, as well as the commentaries of Asper, mentioned by Sosipater and St. Jerom, and the account of the antient biographer noticed by Baptista Pius (Annotat. Posterior. LXXXIV.), is unhappily lost, and their place has been imperfectly supplied by the later compilations of Pomponius Lætus, Crinitus, Vossius, and Le Clerc.

Page 5.

(7.) SEN. Controvers. L. IV. 24. Epit. Declam. L. IX. 1.

(8) WHATEVER be the prejudices or passions of any age, it is very seldom that they are transmitted to posterity:

Virtutem incolumem odimus;
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.
Hor. Carm. L. III. 24.

"Living characters (as Sallust himself observes) are often liable to be obscured by envy, and sometimes to be depressed by misfortune: But, when death closes the scene, the voice of detraction is heard no more,

Page 5. and merit, pure and unsullied, is suffered to shine forth beyond the grave." *Vivos interdum fortuna, sæpe invidia fatigat : Ubi anima naturæ cessit, demptis obtrectationibus, ipsa se virtus magis magisque extollit.* Epist. ad Cæs. II. 15. He, however, who has made the remark, so true in general, is himself a striking example that it is liable to exceptions. Sallust lived in a period, when the spirit of party violently agitated Rome. He entered, with activity, into political intrigues ; and as he observed, in his conduct, but little circumspection, so he had many enemies to blacken his character, while they dreaded and envied his talents. Among his political and literary opponents, Cicero, Livy, and Asinius Pollio make the principal figure ; and to them we may add Lenæus the Grammarian, the freedman of Pompey, whose pen, together with that of Pollio, was employed in the most scurrilous abuse of our author.

Under these circumstances, and that of the entire loss of his Life, composed by Asconius Pedianus, it is not wonderful, if modern biographers should be exposed to prejudice ; and it must be acknowledged that they have not been very diligent in their efforts to counteract it. Instead of selecting with judgment, or distinguishing with candour, among the scanty materials for a Life of the historian, their utmost ambition seems to have been to copy from one another. Even the historical fact, that no fewer than SIX or SEVEN *different persons of the name of Sallust existed together in the same period* (See Note 50. posth.), has not hitherto been noticed by any one of them ; and the present biographer is, as far as he knows, the first, who has brought forward the circumstance, and attempted to show, how obviously the historian has been mistaken for some of these, and how very probably he may have been confounded with others.

(9.) M. Le Clerc was a writer of considerable celebrity, who flourished towards the close of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth century. He was, by birth, a native of Geneva, where his father had

been a physician, and afterwards professor of the Greek language. Le Clerc studied divinity; and, in 1684, became a minister among the Arminians or Remonstrants, in Holland; which situation he gave up, on receiving the appointment of professor of Hebrew, and likewise of philosophy and polite literature, at Amsterdam. His writings, like his learning, were various and extensive, consisting of the *Ars Critica*, said to be his favourite production; the *Bibliothéque Choisie*, a periodical work, which acquired great popularity; editions of some of the Classics; one of Grotius's work *De Veritate*, accompanied with Notes, and an original Essay, &c. Being an Arminian in his principles, and, consequently, hostile to the high-church tenets, that prevailed in England, he never was a favourite among the scholars of this country, and became involved in many literary quarrels. Besides his controversies with Perizontius and Dr. Cave, his publication of the remains of Menander and Philemon drew upon him, in 1710, a most unfortunate one with Bentley and Peter Burmann. To the former he was confessedly inferior in classical learning, and to the latter in variety and impudence of abuse: He, therefore, prudently observed, that he saw no more necessity for answering all the calumnies of the critics, than for repelling the unfounded attacks of the divines. It was, notwithstanding, believed, that this celebrated controversy contributed, in some measure, to shorten his days. Page 5.

Le Clerc, without doubt, was a man of unblemished manners, of sound judgment, and extensive erudition; and the general estimation, which he attained during his life, has justly been extended to a great proportion of his writings. He wrote much, and composed with rapidity. The important rule of Horace, *Sæpe stylum vertas*, seems not to have been among the number of his maxims: Consequently his productions were distinguished by greater ease than correctness, greater vivacity than profound reasoning. What was the original cause of his aversion to Sallust does not appear; but it is certain that his prejudices were deep-rooted and irreconcilable. He displayed

Page 5. them with a malignity wholly inconsistent with the general candour of his character; and, being rather tenacious of his opinions *(propositi tenax)*, what he had once deliberately advanced, he was not, on any grounds, disposed to relinquish. How far the portrait he has presented of this great historian is delineated with fidelity or candour will appear in the course of the present Essay.

(10.) From the character and learning of M. le Clerc greater accuracy, as well as greater candour might have been expected, than we find displayed by him, in this his well known performance. The calm and deliberate malignity of this critic far surpasses the greatest injustice of former biographers. Every low calumny, pointed at any person of the name of Sallust, and adopted by the haste or ignorance of his predecessors, he has been careful to exaggerate, and apply to the historian; adding to the stock whatever other matter he could rake up, from the filth and scandal of the Augustan age. The principal repository, from which this is drawn, is two Declamations, given by the critics to Porcius Latro, or Vibius Crispus, rhetoricians who flourished towards the latter end of the reign of Augustus, and the commencement of that of Tiberius, and who are often mentioned, as speakers of eminence, by the elder Seneca. The one of these pieces is composed as an invective Oration of Sallust against Cicero, and the other as a reply, on the part of the latter. The admirable compression of the one, and the diffusive elegance of the other writer are ingeniously imitated; and, although both Orations purport to have been spoken in the Senate, the ribbaldry they contain is so coarse and shocking, that it would have disgraced the Suburra. The practice which prevailed, in the schools of Declamation, of assuming some real character, and then giving, or addressing to it a fictitious Oration, is well known (See the Declam. of Seneca; also Juvenal. Sat. I. 15.): Yet, notwithstanding, this speech of Cicero is quoted by Le Clerc, in almost every page of his performance, as a grave and authentic

document! Had he concealed his opinion in regard to it, we might have laughed at his credulity; but what shall we say of his consistency or good faith, when we find him, at the same time, openly declaring the whole to be an *acknowledged fiction*, and composed by some Declaimer, merely as a rhetorical exercise!!! *De ejus (Sallustii) oratione in Ciceronem, et Ciceronis in Sallustium, nihil addam: Quia, licet antiquæ sint, nec infra ævum Tiberianum, animi causâ à rhetore quopiam confictas, nemo amplius dubitat.* Cleric. Vit. Sall. sub fin. Page 5.

(11.) It cannot but appear surprising, from the specimen which is above given of Le Clerc's *principles* and *temper* as a biographer, that so many persons, certainly not deficient in liberality or learning, should condescend to adopt, not only his casual errors (which, indeed, are sufficiently numerous), but even his wilful misrepresentations. The Abbé Thyvon, for example, has taken the trouble to translate his biographical tract, and prefix it to his own work; contenting himself merely with some exculpatory evidence, which, to save his credit for discernment, he thinks proper to subjoin to it, but presumes only to call *Un canevas pour une apologie de Salluste.* It is still more curious to hear the President De Brosses, the most elegant and industrious of all Sallust's translators, express his astonishment at *his own* credulity, on the score of the enormities laid to the charge of the Roman author: For in this sense we *must* understand the passage, since M. de Brosses has not only brought forward the abuse of Lenæus, but even the allegations of the Declaimer, as relevant authorities. *Je ne laisse pas* (says he) *d'être étonné, qu'on se soit plus attaché a déchirer la reputation de Salluste, que celle de beaucoup d'autres personnes de son temps, qui ne valoient pas mieux que lui. Car, enfin, s'il a été débauché dans sa jeunesse, ce n'est pas chose rare; et même, on peut remarquer, comme un préjugé favorable pour lui, qu'il n'a point été du nombre des complices de Catilina.* Vie de Sall. (Œuv. Tom. III.) p. 376. The

Page 6. last, and certainly not the least of these submissive gentlemen, is Professor Meisner of Prague, who has not only accurately copied Le Clerc, and gravely appealed to the authority of the Declamations, but has even undertaken to prove, that, as an evidence of *facts*, they are justly entitled to credibility! But of this more fully hereafter.

From what has been said, it will easily be conjectured, that I have no intention, in the present view of the Life of Sallust, to state any fact resting only on such authorities as that of the Declaimer, or of Lenæus, unless when supported by documents far more respectable. The former, as we have seen, is acknowledged, by the bitterest enemies of Sallust, to be a work of fancy; and the scurrilities of the latter are nothing more than the low revenge of a Freedman of Pompey, whom the historian had justly, but somewhat severely, handled. He had said, it seems, in his history, in his sententious manner, that Pompey was a man *oris probi, animo inverecundo;* a stroke of character concerning his patron, which, however just, the emancipated slave could not digest, and he retorted in a style every way consistent with his own character. See Sallust. Hist. Fragment. L VI. 1. Several editions have it *oris improbi;* but I prefer the reading first mentioned, for the reasons assigned by Douza, and think the arguments are convincing, by which his opinions are supported. See his Notes on this passage. Suetonius (de Illust. Grammat. XV.) has faithfully recorded the abusive expressions of Lenæus. There was another of Pompey's Freedmen, named Mena, probably a person of the same stamp, who is most severely lashed by Horace, in Epod. IV., which the poet addresses to him.

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(12.) Of this place the remains are still discernible, near San-Vittorino, in the district of Abruzzo, and bear the name of Furonio. See Cellar. Ital. Antiq. p. 38.

(13.) Euseb. Chronic. ad An. Abrah. M.DCCCC.XXXI. Page 7.

(14.) Le Clerc and some others erroneously calculate to the year of Rome 669 (Cleric. in Vit. Sallust.); but Le Clerc, in his account of Sallust, is as inaccurate in regard to dates and eras, as he is unjust and partial concerning opinions or facts.

(15.) See Pomp. Læt., Crinit., Voss., in Vit. Sallust. Also Vie de Sallust. par M. de Brosses (Œuv. Tom. III. p. 308, 309.) It seems most probable, that Le Clerc has judged rightly, in supposing his family to be Plebeian, both from the circumstance of his being Tribune of the people, A. U. C. 702, and from the uniform severity, with which the nobles are treated, in Sallust's Letters to Cæsar, and in the Jugurthine War.

(16.) See Cleric. Vit. Sallust. & Declam. Cic. in Sall. passim. The Declaimer ingeniously observes, of Sallust's father, that, had he never, during his life, been guilty of another crime, yet the disgrace and injury occasioned to the Commonwealth was sufficient, when he unhappily presented it with such a son. *Qui, si nunquam in vitâ suâ peccasset, tamen majorem injuriam Reipublicæ facere non potuisset, quam quòd talem filium genuerat.* But this is a sentiment, as to the justice of which *posterity* have considerably differed from the Rhetorician's judgment.

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(17.) *Ante Carthaginem deletam . . . neque gloria, neque denominationis certamen inter cives erat: Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere.* Sallust. Bell. Jugurthin. XLV. There is no circumstance more strenuously insisted on by Sallust, as well as other antient writers, as conducive to de-

Page 8. generacy of every sort at Rome, than the overthrow of Carthage, which terminated the third Punic War, and left the former mistress of the world. He dilates, also, on it with great eloquence (Bell. Catalin. X.), in his elegant view of the progress and decline of manners. See likewise, to the same effect, Fragment. Hist. Sallust. L. I. 1. 2. Scipio Nasica clearly foresaw, and predicted these fatal effects of the ruin of Carthage: But it would have been more than human virtue, if the Romans had not rather listened to the *delenda Carthago* of Cato, than to the calmer wisdom of his rival. See Flor. L. II. 15.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. XV. 18. Both Plutarch and Appian have related this memorable difference in sentiment between Cato and Scipio (See Plutarch in Caton. Maj. p. 352. Edit. Francof.); and Appian concisely states the grand motive, that weighed with the latter. Κάτωνα δ' ἐξ ἐκείνης φασὶν ἐν τῇ βελῇ συνεχῶς γνώμην λέγειν, Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι. Σκιπίωνα δὲ τὸν Νασικᾶν τὰ ἐναντία ἀξιῶν, Καρχηδόνα ἐᾶν, ἐς φόβον ἄρα καὶ τόδε Ῥωμαίων, ἐκδιαιτωμένων ἤδη. De Bell. Pun. p. 62. Edit. Toll. See also Diodor. in Eccerpt. Vales. p. 382.

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(18.) The Conspiracy of Catiline broke out A. U. C. 690. It is singular how inaccurate Le Clerc is, in regard to dates and eras. He makes Sallust, at this time, thirty, although he had stated his birth as having taken place in 669; and, in the same way, he makes him seventy at the time of his death, although that happened, he says, A. U. C. 619.

(19.) Atteius Prætextatus, surnamed Philologus, as we learn from Suetonius (de Illust. Grammat. X.), was contemporary with Sallust and Assinius Pollio, and gave lessons, in eloquence and the art of composition, to both. The appellation of Philologus he assumed, after the example of Eratosthenes, who was the first that claimed it, in order to denote his various learning. The latter is highly extolled

by Strabo, L. XVII. p. 838. See, also, Voss. de Hist. Latin. L. I. 17. Page 8.

(20.) *Postquam mihi ætas ingeniumque adolevit, haud fermè armis atque equis corpus exercui, sed animum in literis agitavi: Quod naturâ firmius erat, id in laboribus habui.* Sallust. de Repub. Ordin. Ep. I. 11. *Neque verò agrum colendo, aut venando, ætatem agere.* Bel. Catilin. IV.

(21.) *Mihi rectiùs videtur, ingenii quàm virium opibus, gloriam quærere; et memoriam nostri quàm maximè longam efficere.* Sallust. Bel. Catilin. I.

(22.) THIS subject of the Rhetoricians or Declaimers is curious, and of considerable importance in the history of Roman literature. As none of the critics or commentators, as far as I know, have given any thing like a connected or satisfactory account of it, it may here be worth while, for the information of the young student, shortly to trace the origin of that prodigious influence, which those celebrated teachers acquired at Rome, under the emperors.

The practice of declaiming on fictitious subjects, so fatal to real eloquence and good composition, first originated among the Greeks of Asia. It was brought to Athens, in the time of Demetrius Phalerius (Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. II. 4. sub fin.—Cic. de Clar. Orator. IX.), who flourished 300 years before the Christian era; and from thence it found its way to Rome, about the middle of the seventh century of the city. *Nondum juvenes Declamationibus continebantur,* (says a writer, who showed a taste superior to his age) *cùm Sophocles, aut Euripides invenerunt verba, quibus deberent loqui. Nondum umbraticus doctor ingenia deleverat, cùm Pindarus novemque Lyrici Homericis versibus canere timuerunt. Et, ne poëtas quidem ad testimonium citem, certè neque Platona, neque Demosthenem ad hoc genus*

Page 8. *exercitationis accessisse video . . . Nuper ventosa isthæc et enormis loquacitas, Athenas ex Asiâ commigravit, animosque juvenum ad magna surgentes, veluti pestilenti quodam sidere afflavit; simulque corruptæ eloquentiæ regula stetit, et obmutuit.* Petron. Satyric. II. Notwithstanding what is here said of the *enormis loquacitas* of the Declaimers, it appears, that of the two kinds of Asiatic eloquence distinguished by Cicero, of which the one was *sententiis argutum concinnis et venustis*, and the other *verbis volucre atque incitatum genus*, there is no doubt, but that that, which came into fashion among the Romans, belonged to the former. The many curious specimens of it, preserved by the elder Seneca and Quintilian, are all of this description; and no man had a better opportunity, than the former, of hearing the most celebrated Rhetoricians (such as Portius Latro, Gallio, Aurelius Fuscus, Cestius Pius, and many others), who declaimed from the beginning of Augustus's reign, down to the end of that of Tiberius.

The first Latin Rhetorician, who kept a Declaiming school at Rome, was Plotius Gallus; and that took place only when Cicero was a boy. See Cic. ap. Sueton. de Clar. Rhetor. II.—Sen. Controvers. L. II. in Procem.—Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. II. 4. sub fin. When Crassus, the famous orator, held the Censorship, A. U. C. 661, as he himself relates, this "new race of men, called Latin Rhetoricians, or masters of eloquence, had, for two years together, kept open schools in Rome, till he thought fit to exercise his Censorian authority, and by an edict to banish the whole tribe from the city: And this, he says, he did, not, as some people suggested, to hinder the talents of youth from being cultivated, but to save their genius from being corrupted, and the young mind from being confirmed in shameless ignorance. Audacity was all the new masters could teach; and this being the only thing to be acquired on that stage of impudence, he thought it the duty of a Roman Censor to crush the mischief in the bud." * *Latini, si diis placet, hoc biennio magistri dicendi exstiterunt; quos*

* This excellent translation is by Mr. Murphy. See his Tacitus, Vol. IV. p. 542.

ego Censor edicto meo sustuleram: Non quò (ut nescio quos dicere aiebant) acui ingenia adolescentiam nollem, sed contrà ingenia obtundi nollui, corroborari impudentiam... Hos verò novos magistros nihil intelligebam posse docere, nisi aut auderent... Hoc cùm unum traderetur, et cùm impudentiæ ludus *esset, putavi esse Censoris, ne longiùs id serperet, providere.* Cic. de Orat. L. III. 24. Page 8.

It is a strange mistake to suppose, as has been done by Lord Monboddo and others (See Orig. and Prog. of Language, Vol. III. p. 254.), that the expulsion from Rome of the "Philosophers and Rhetoricians," 69 years before this period, which is mentioned by Aulus Gellius and Suetonius to have taken place during the Consulship of Fannius Strabo and Valerius Messala (A. U. C. 592), relates to the Declaimers, although the epithet *Latini* has inadvertently been applied to the Rhetoricians by the former writer; because such a supposition would be both at variance with the express testimony of Cicero, and with the terms of the original decree of the Senate, as preserved by Aulus Gellius himself. See Noct. Att. L. XV. 11. —Sueton. de Clar. Rhet. I. The fact is, that these expelled teachers were Greeks; and probably among the number of the thousand Achæan hostages, sent to Rome after the reduction of their country, in the time of Paulus Æmilius; and whose stay in Italy, during seventeen years, greatly contributed to the diffusion of science and learning. In this reasonable sentiment I am the more confirmed, on seeing what the learned Casaubon has remarked upon this decree of the Senate, as preserved by Suetonius (De Clar. Rhetor. ubi sup.), when he properly appeals to the words of Athenæus, who, in mentioning the same historical fact, certainly alludes to Rhetoricians or Sophists of his own country; Ῥωμαίοι (says he) *οἱ πάντα ἄριστοι ἐξέβαλλον τὰς σοφιστὰς τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς διαφθείροντας τοὺς νέους.* Deipnosoph. L. XIII. p. 610. It may here, likewise, be mentioned, in confirmation of the above, that the very term *Declamatio* was not in use at Rome till the time of Cicero and Calvus; and then it meant something very

Page 8. different from the absurd scholastic exercises of the Declaimers. It was, like the Greek exercises, drawn from real business, and generally carried on in that language. *Commentabar declamitans,* (says Cicero) *sic enim nunc loquuntur, cum M. Pisone, et cum Q. Pompeio, aut cum aliquo quotidie; idque faciebam multùm etiam Latinè, sed Græcè sæpiùs.* *Controversiæ* and *Suasoriæ* were words of much later introduction, and had no existence till the days of Augustus. Sen. Controver. L. I. in Proœm. The Greek exercises were antiently called συντάξεις or συνθέσεις, and afterwards θέσεις and ὑπόθεσεις, which last were translated by the words *propositæ* and *causæ,* in the time of Cicero. See Top. XXI.—Sueton. de Clar. Rhet I.

The method of studying eloquence at Rome was very different, previously to the time of the Declaimers, as we learn from Cicero's account of his own studies, and, likewise, from the elegant author of the Dialogue concerning the Decline of Eloquence, or *De Oratoribus,* which has been variously ascribed to Tacitus and Quintilian, but which is written in a style superior to that of either. The young pupil was then placed under the care of some illustrious orator of the day, whom he constantly attended to the Forum, or the courts of justice; and from such an example he early learnt the principles, as well as the practice of the art. But, as the passion for declaiming gained ground, this manly discipline was gradually laid aside. *Words,* and not *things* became the great objects of attention; and fact and argument alike disappearing, there remained nothing in their room, as a good critic has observed, except certain shadowy images, that floated merely on the imagination, instead of storing the mind with new ideas, or adding to its stock of useful knowledge. *Facti vera ratio in scholis evanuit, retentâ nescio quâ umbrâ, magno juventutis dispendio.* Grang. Schol. in Juvenal. Satyr. I. In a few years, however, notwithstanding every opposition, the ascendency of the Declaimers increased at Rome. During Augustus's reign, it began to be conspicuous: It was still more alarming under that

of Tiberius; and it at last effected the ruin of all genuine taste. Page 8.

As soon as the youth was dismissed from the Grammarian's hands, instead of attending, as was the former practice, some accomplished orator in his pleadings, he was sent to the schools of the Rhetoricians. There he first acquired common-place arguments, and next proceeded to study the art of maintaining disputes upon fictitious subjects; or, if they were sometimes drawn from history, and sometimes from the occurrences of the day, they were rare and unusual cases, little less than out of nature, and wholly useless in the business of common life. These exercises consisted of two kinds, the Persuasive and the Controversial *(Suasoriæ et Controversiæ)*: The former were also called Deliberative, and the latter Judicial Declamations. Of the first class, or the Persuasive sort, were such questions as these; Whether Alexander, after overrunning India, should attempt to navigate the ocean, in search of other countries? Whether Cicero should condescend to beg his life of Anthony? Or whether he should burn his writings, at Anthony's desire, if the Triumvir would promise to spare his life? The second, or Controversial sort, were of a more complicated nature, and usually turned on the application of some law to a rare, and often absurd case, not provided for by that law. For example; A certain man had the misfortune to be shipwrecked: He lost, also, his wife and three children; and, to crown the whole, his house was unluckily burnt to the ground. In a fit of despair, he resolved to die by his own hand, and accordingly hung himself up. A person, accidentally passing by, cut him down, and was straightway sued for damages by the man, whose life he had so benevolently saved! See the Suasor. and Controvers. of the elder Seneca. Juvenal, in order to shew that he, as well as others, had learnt grammar and rhetoric, gives an example of the Persuasive sort of Declamation, when he tells us, that, in the question, Whether Sylla ought to have laid down his Dictatorship? he had advised that great man to abjure

Page 8. his ambitious projects, and prefer the comfort of sleeping soundly as a private citizen;

> Et nos manum ferulæ subduximus; et nos
> Consilium dedimus Syllæ, privatus ut altum
> Dormiret.
>
> Sat. I. v. 15.

From these examples some idea may be formed of the absurd and frivolous nature of these Declamations, or mock trials, as the Controversial sort may properly enough be called, in which the disputants on either side were so ambitious to lay out their ingenuity. They were generally comprehended in a few smart, and pointed sentences (*vibrantes sententiolæ*, as Petronius justly terms them), of which one of the chief merits consisted in their conciseness and obscurity. The same writer, with no less truth than vivacity, gives a picture of the different ludicrous topics, on which the youth of his time were usually exercised; their wild extravagance and puerility; their utter dissimilitude from common life; and, above all, "the honied globules, which dribbled" * through their style, greatly enhancing the delicacy of a composition thus highly seasoned, and richly garnished, for the intellectual palate! *Ideo ego adolescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis, quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt, aut vident; sed piratas cum catenis in litore stantes; et tyrannos edictos scribentes, quibus imperent filiis ut patrum suorum capita præcidant; sed responsa in pestilentiâ data ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur; sed mellitos verborum globulos, et omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa.* Satyric. II. What, then, could be expected from speakers so trained up? As well might we judge of the eloquence of an orator, from so childish an exercise, as of the skill of a sailor, from his performance in a fish-pond! *Non est quòd oratorem in hoc puerili exercitatione spectes: Quid si velis gubernatorem in piscinâ æstimare?* Sen. Epit. Declamat. L. III. in Procem.

* See Pursuits of Literature, P. III. v. 190.

Though uniformly reprobated by all men of real learning among the Romans,[1] it appears that these pernicious teachers by degrees extended their influence over every branch of science, and over every department of literature. In the time of Trajan and the Antonines, the evil had reached its greatest height. It had then destroyed not only the eloquence of the Forum, but, in a great measure, debased every other species of composition, poetry as well as prose, history as well as oratory *(ut ne quidem carmen sani coloris enituit)*. By engrossing to themselves the entire management of the education of youth, the Declaimers found means to poison both taste and morals at the fountain-head; and, accordingly, the age of these memorable princes has been justly regarded as the last of classical learning. Page 8.

For a more particular view of the causes, which brought about this unhappy revolution, the reader is referred to the beautiful and masterly Dialogue on the Decline of Eloquence already noticed (Sect. XXVIII. XXXVII.); and he may verify the facts there set forth, by an unprejudiced examination of the various writers that exist, from the days of Augustus, to those of Marcus Antoninus. Whatever partiality may be felt for any favourite author, it will be acknowledged, that, from the time of Augustus downwards, they all savour, in some degree, of the taste of the Declaiming School: So true is the candid, but pointed remark of an observer among themselves; *Qui inter hæc nutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt, quàm bene olere, qui in culinâ habitant* (Petron. Satyric. II.); that is, that all literary productions, whatsoever be the genius of the author, must necessarily reflect the prominent character of their age; and, in other words, if they possess the virtues, so they must also be tainted with the vices it displays.

(23.) By Cicero's plan of education, which is so well described in his books *De Oratore* and *De Claris Oratoribus*, we perceive that he had gone to the bottom of things. We find him constantly referring all know-

Page 9. ledge to the philosophers, as the masters of what was most valuable in learning, or, at least, that learning which was requisite for an accomplished speaker. *Positum est, in primis, sine philosophiâ non posse effici, quem quærimus, eloquentem . . . Et fateor, me oratorem, si modò sim, non ex Rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis, extitisse.* Orat. ad Brut. III. IV. Petronius, that gay and singular writer, who had passed his days in voluptuousness and luxury (See Tacit. Annal. L. XVI. 18.), yet who, amidst all his dissipation, was a man of learning and reflection, knew the value of philosophy, and therefore directs the young student to the Socratic school. He desires him to begin with Homer, and there drink deep of the Pierian spring: After which, he recommends the moral system, and discipline of Plato; and, when his mind has been thus enlarged, he at length allows him to wield the arms of Demosthenes:

Det primos versibus annos,
Mæoniumque bibat felice pectore fontem:
Mox et Socratico plenus grege mutet habenas
Liber, et ingentis quatiat Demosthenis arma.

Horace, before him, had declared, that the art of good composition could be founded only on the same solid basis:

Scribendi rectè, sapere est et principium et fons:
Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ.
De Art. Poet. 309.

By *Sapientia* the Romans understood Philosophy in its true sense; nor had they any other word for the term, until Cicero borrowed *Philosophia* from the Greeks.

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(24.) *Cæterùm ex aliis negotiis, quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum . . . Et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur.* Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. IV. and Bel. Catilin. III.

(25.) See Sallust. Bel. Catilin. I. II.—Bel. Jugurthin. I. II.— Page 10. Also de Repub. Ordin. Ep. I. 1. In referring to the two Letters to Cæsar, on the Administration of the Government, I always quote them in the order, in which they stand in the present work, and not in the inverted one of the common editions. See the reasons for this change of their order, in Notes on Epist. I.

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(26.) M. de Brosses, in his Life of Sallust, thus speaks of his manner of writing history: *On peut dire de Salluste, que ce n'est qu' après avoir connu l'histoire par les hommes, qu'il les a faits connoître eux-mêmes par l'histoire; et qu'en appliquant aux personnes et aux événemens cette methode approfondie, il a mieux que nul autre éclairé la posterité sur le caractere de sa nation, et de son siecle.* Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. p. 315.

(27.) *Il ne paroît pas* (says M. de Brosses) *que Salluste ait pris la route la plus frayée de parvenir aux honneurs; je veux dire celle d'acquérir des suffrages, et des cliens, en défendant, au barreau, les affaires des particuliers. C' est ce que donne lieu de juger le silence de Cicéron, qui ne fait aucune mention de lui dans son livre des Orateurs. Certainement, ce n'est ni par haine contre Salluste, ne par vengeance des querelles qu'ils eurent ensemble; puisque dans cet ouvrage il rend indifféremment justice à ses ennemis, comme à ses amis, et toujours d'une maniere fort impartiale.* Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. p. 313. From this account it could scarcely be imagined, that the worthy President had ever perused Cicero's treatise *De Claris Oratoribus.*

(28.) It is certainly singular, that so remarkable a circumstance should have escaped the President de Brosses's accuracy. He appears, in this instance, as in some others, to have carelessly copied from Le Clerc, who, in his whole account of Sallust, is incorrect, and

Page 10. often dogmatical and invidious. There is no notice, says Le Clerc, among the antient writers, of Sallust's having ever practised at the bar; nor does Cicero, who gives an account of so many orators and advocates of his own time, so much as mention the name of the historian. Possibly it may be thought, that the silence of Cicero proceeds from the enmity that subsisted between them. But it is for those, who espouse that sentiment, to show, why he did not even incidentally notice him, had it been only for the purpose of reflecting on his character. *Nulla certè memoria ejus rei, apud veteres; nec Cicero, qui tot æqualium suorum, qui operam suam venditarunt in Foro, meminit, C. Crispi Sallustii mentionem ullam unquam fecit. Si quis silentii causam fuisse inimicitiam, quæ inter eos fuit, suspicetur; doceat, cur Cicero ejus saltem obiter non meminerit, ut vituperaret.* Cleric. Vit. Sallust. Le Clerc, on this occasion, of course judged of Cicero from his own sentiments: But he seems to have been equally unacquainted with the temper, and with the writings of that extraordinary man. Had he studied the latter with as great attention, as he appears to have done the Declamations of Porcius Latro, or Vibius Crispus, he would have known, that, in the admirable dialogue *De Claris Oratoribus*, the author not only lays down the prudent determination, which I have stated in the text, namely, *to avoid all mention of his cotemporaries;* but he further says, addressing himself to Brutus and Atticus, that he had resolved so to do, in order to guard against the curiosity of his two friends, who might thus wish to draw from him a dangerous judgment concerning living c[illegible]s. *In hoc sermone nostro, statui neminem eorum, qui viverent, nominare; ne vos curiosiùs eliceretis ex me quid de quoque judicarem.* De Clar. Orator. LXV. He afterwards, however, at Brutus's request, does make an exception, and but once, in regard to two remarkable persons, Cæsar and Marcellus, whose powers, as orators, are warmly extolled. See Id. LXXI. LXXII.—Also Quintil. Inst. Orat. L.X. 1.

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(29.) Populares
Vincentem strepitus, et natum rebus agendis.
Hor. Art. Poët. 81. 82.

Acrem enim oratorem, incensum, et agentem, et canorum, concursus hominum, forique strepitus desiderat. Cic. de Clar. Orator. XCII. Cicero himself was naturally timid and agitated, when he came to address a numerous assembly, and deeply felt the difficulty and importance of so trying a situation. *Magnum quoddam est onus atque munus, suscipere atque profiteri, se esse, omnibus silentibus, unum maximis de rebus, magno in conventu hominum, audiendum.* De Orat. L. I. 25. Although habit and perseverance, and, above all, the grateful incense of popular applause, in time gave him a confidence equal to the greatest efforts; yet so inseparable, in his judgment, is innate diffidence from real merit, that he does not scruple to declare, that excellence in speaking (and the same holds good with regard to writing), is usually in proportion to the sense, which the student entertains of the arduousness of the attempt, his doubts of success, and his apprehensions of miscarriage. *Ut quisque optimè dicit, ita maximè dicendi difficultatem, variosque eventus orationis, expectationemque hominum pertinescit.* Ibid. L. I. 26. This topic I enlarge upon with the greater satisfaction, that it must prove animating, as well as interesting, to youthful genius to perceive, that its best incitements are sometimes to be found among its most formidable difficulties; and that wheresoever modesty and industry are united, there is no room to despair.

(30.) *Ubi animus ad gloriam virtutis viâ grassatur, abunde pollens, potensque, et clarus est . . Cùm præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur . . In magnâ copiâ rerum, aliud alii natura iter ostendit.* Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. I. II. and Bel. Catilin. II.

Page 12. (31.) *Tamenetsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem, et actorem rerum, tamen . . majus commodum ex otio meo, quàm ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicæ venturum.* Sallust. Bel. Catilin. III and Bel. Jugurthin. IV. And this modest hope has proved, in the end, no less well founded, than the proud, and celebrated prediction of Horace; *Exegi monumentum ære perennius*, &c. Carm. L. III. 30.

(32.) *Abest historia literis nostris . . Vires agrestes habet atque horridas, sine nitore ac palæstrâ . . Ex his alius alio plus habet virium, tamen quid tam exile quàm isti omnes?* De Legib. L. I. 2. In another place, he sufficiently accounts for this low state of history at Rome. No man of learning, says he, with us, ever thinks of cultivating eloquence, unless with some view of shining at the bar. In Greece, on the other hand, it was usual for the greatest masters of the art to study fine composition, amidst the shades of retirement, and to adorn with their genius, not only the historic page, but every other branch of polite literature. *Nemo enim studet eloquentiæ nostrorum hominum, nisi ut in causis, atque in foro eluceat: Apud Græcos autem, eloquentissimi homines, remoti à causis forensibus, cùm ad ceteras res illustres tum ad scribendam historiam maximè se applicaverunt.* De Orat. L. II. 13. Thus we may perceive what were the models adopted by Sallust, in his pursuit of fame: And, as Cicero had predicted, the honour of his country, in the historical department, was never to be retrieved, until some writer of talents should diligently and exclusively apply himself to the task, undisturbed by ambition and the distraction of the forum.

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(33.) Sallust, as it appears, had pretty nearly the same notions as Cicero, concerning the state of prose composition at Rome. Speaking of the Greeks, and particularly of the Athenians, he ably contrasts their condition with that of his own countrymen, glossing over the

long and extraordinary want of cultivation among the latter, with a natural partiality. Athens he calls a soil prolific of genius, as well as valour. There, he says, whatsoever the sword achieved the pens of their writers were ready to celebrate: Accordingly, the Athenian name has been found, beyond every other, to delight and astonish the universe. Viewing it, as we have always done, through the fascinating colours of imagination and eloquence, it is the merit of the authors, rather than that of the actions themselves, which so powerfully attracts us. But, among the Romans, the same advantages have not been enjoyed. There few writers arose, during the early ages. The most busy scenes constantly called forth the brightest talents; and even the distinctions were long unknown, that separate active from speculative life. To act, rather than to write or speak, was the practice then in vogue. The Roman of other times preferred the glory of deeds, which he himself should achieve, to that of recounting and embellishing the achievements of other men. *Quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur: Ita eorum, qui ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantùm verbis eam potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit: Quia prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxumè erat: Ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat: Optumus quisque facere, quàm dicere; sua ab aliis benefacta laudari, quàm ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.* Bel. Catilin. VIII. Page 12.

(34.) SALLUST. de Repub. Ordin. Ep. II. What Julius Cæsar, on a particular occasion, said of Brutus (Cic. Epist. ad Attic. L. XIV. 1.), *Quidquid vult, valde vult*, may, with considerable justice, be applied to the genius of Sallust. But the historian, together with uncommon ardour, possessed that spirit of industry and perseverance, which is absolutely indispensable in great undertakings, in a degree far beyond the favourite of Cæsar.

Page 13. (35.) *Ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius in naturâ mortalium est, incultu atque secordiâ torpescere sinunt; cùm . . reputando, neque majus aliud, neque præstabilius invenios; magìsque naturæ industriam hominum, quàm vim aut tempus deesse.* Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. I. II.

(36.) Sueton. de Clar. Grammat. X.

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(37.) See Ascon. Pedian. in Milon. Ciceron.—Also this Essay

(38.) Suetonius (de Clar. Grammat. X.) quotes a Letter, from Atteius, to a friend, at that time extant, in which he says, *Hylen nostram aliis memento commendare; quam omnis generis coegimus in octingentos libros.* The title of one of his miscel laneous Essays was, *An amavit Didûn Æneas?* Charis. L. I. The same Grammarian likewise cites these compositions, under the name of Πινάκοι, which sufficiently denotes their character. Atteius Capito, a celebrated lawyer in the reign of Augustus and Tiberius, but no friend to the preceptor of Sallust, used to say of him, in the antithetical phraseology then in vogue, that among Grammarians he was a Rhetorician, and among Rhetoricians a Grammarian; *Inter Grammaticos Rhetorem, et inter Rhetores Grammaticum fuisse.* Sueton. de Clar. Grammat. X. Most of the antient writers on philology, however, make an honourable appeal to Atteius, in ascertaining the meaning of original Latin expressions. See Fest. p. 113. 129. 816.—Fest. Pomp. p. 329. 448. 466.—Verr. Flacc. p. 115. 237. 238. &c. Edit. Gothof.—See also Voss. de Histor. Latin. L. I. 17.

(39.) Sueton. de Clar. Grammat. X. *Statui res gestas* (says Sallust) *populi Romani carptim, ut quæque memoriâ digna videbantur, perscribere.* Sallust. Bel. Catilin. IV.

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(40.) ATTEIUS, as has been observed above, was the master of Asinius Pollio, as well as of Sallust; and, after the death of the latter, a considerable intimacy was cultivated between the two survivors. But so anxious does Pollio appear to vilify his rival, that, in relating the anecdote of Sallust and his preceptor, he seems to have acted with strange inconsistency. He first makes the Grammarian the assistant in the formation of his pupil's style, and then declares how contrary its whole character is to the uniform tenor of Atteius's instructions to himself, to study ease, and purity, and perspicuousness; avoiding all expressions that were obsolete or antiquated; and, above all, the obscurity of Sallust, and his licentiousness in the use of metaphors. *Quò magìs miror* (says Suetonius, who relates the anecdote) *Asinium Pollionem credidisse, antiqua eum* (*Atteium*) *verba et figuras solitum esse colligere Sallustio; quum sibi sciat nil aliud suadere, quàm ut noto, civilique, et proprio sermone utatur; vitetque maximè obscuritatem Sallustii, et audaciam in translationibus.* Sueton. de Clar. Grammat. X. Now, as *obscurity* is among the very last things, that a judicious writer would find to reprehend in Sallust, we are inclined to believe, and the Abbé Thyvon seems to have had the same sentiment (Remarq. sur la Vie de Sall. p. 62.), that Pollio was little guided by the love of truth, and therefore imagined, that he could not better propagate an unfavourable allegation against an enemy, than by delivering it in the name of his former friend. From two passages in Aulus Gellius, it appears, that Pollio, besides the invective already mentioned, addressed to Plancus (probably the same who was Consul with Lepidus A. U. C. 711.), some Critical Letters on the writings f Sallust; but that he, as well as others in their attacks, showed more malignity than learning, greater captiousness than solid judgment. *Multi non mediocri ingenio viri conati sunt reprehendere pleraque, et detrectare; in quibus plura inscitè aut malignè vellicant.* Noct. Att. L. IV. 15. L. X. 26. Page 14.

Page 14. (41.) THERE is no point, that is treated by Cicero with greater precision, than the difference between popular eloquence, and the eloquence which is adapted to other kinds of composition. Between the style of History and that of the former he accurately discriminates, showing, although with somewhat of the partiality of an orator, how very different talents are required to support, in the one case, the historical narrative, and to conduct, in the other, the various business of the Forum, whether in undertaking a defence, or in preferring an accusation. It is one thing, he says, to detain the attention of a reader, and another to command the passions of an audience. *Aliud est explicare res gestas narrando, aliud argumentando criminari, crimenve dissolvere; aliud narratione tenere auditorem, aliud concitare.* De opt. gen. Orator. V. Quintilian, on the occasion of some excellent directions, which he gives to the orator for the narrative parts of his speeches, and concerning the advantages to be drawn from history, delivers an opinion nearly to the same purpose as Cicero. Nothing, as he observes, can be more perfect to the scholar, who peruses him in his study, than the admirable brevity of Sallust's manner. Although both appropriate and pleasing in the historian, it is unfit for the purposes of the bar. In fact, the style of history, however perfect, should be regarded as an example of avoidance, rather than imitation, by the man, who aspires to speak with elegance and success in public. *Neque illa Sallustiana brevitas, quâ nihil apud aures vacuas atque eruditas potest esse perfectius, captanda nobis est . . quanquam in ipso virtutis locum obtinet . . Historia verùm ipsa sic est legenda, ut sciamus plerasque ejus virtutes oratori esse vitandas.* Inst. Orator. L. X. 1. p. 733. 734. and L. IV. 2. p. 298. Edit. Hack.

(42.) ASINIUS Pollio, without doubt, exhibits one of the most distinguished characters of this period. He was Consul A. U. C. 713, together with Domitius Calvinus, and was the great patron of

Horace and Virgil. In the civil wars, he sided with Mark Anthony, but, after his death, came into favour with Augustus. Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. X. 33.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 76. 83.—Dion. Cass. L. XLV. XLVIII. The elder Pliny calls him *princeps orator et civis.* He had the honour of being the first, who established a public library at Rome; and the first, also, that made his compositions known by public rehearsals; a practice afterwards universal among the Romans, and before the invention of printing, that speedier road to fame, very naturally adopted. Plin. Hist. Natur. L. VII. 30.—Sen. Controvers. Epit. L. IV. in Præfat.—Plin. Epist. L. I. 13. Page 14.

As a writer of tragedies Pollio seems to have appeared to advantage (Hor. Sat. L. I. 10.). Yet, notwithstanding the flatteries of Horace, who addressed one of his noblest Odes to him (Carm. L. II. 1.), he certainly did not excel in history. He wrote, in seventeen books, an account of the civil wars, a subject which Sallust was not deterred from treating: And he was the first, according to Suidas, who composed, in the Latin tongue, a history of the transactions of Greece. Ἀσίννιος Πωλίων Ῥωμαῖος ἱστορίας Ῥωμαϊκὰς συνέταξεν ἐν βιβλίοις ιζ: ἔτος πρῶτος Ἑλληνιστικὴν ἱστορίαν Ῥωμαϊκῶς συνεγράψατο. As a writer, he is declared by Seneca to be *salebrosus et exiliens* (Epist. C.): By the author of the dialogue De Oratoribus *durus et siccus*, of the hard school of the Appii and the Menenii, rather than that of the Julian, or of the Augustan age (C. XXI.): And Quintilian, the most impartial of all the antient critics, although he does not refuse him the praise of diligence, emphatically characterizes, as *tristes et jejuni*, both his style and its imitators (Inst. Orator. L. X. 1. L. XII. 10.). Pollio, however, possessed extraordinary wealth and influence, and was flattered by the learned of that day. Virgil, whom he recommended to Mæcenas, has immortalized the name of his patron, by inscribing his IV^th^. Eclogue with the title of Pollio. The poet, in the VIII^th^. Eclogue, likewise records his gratitude. This passage is eminently beautiful; although, in regard to the literary character of Pollio, it

Page 14. is servile and exaggeratory; and Virgil, who could not have forgotten the Pacuvii, the Acii, and the Varii, must undoubtedly have felt that it was at the expence of truth.

> Tu mihi, seu magni superas jam saxa Timavi;
> Sive oram Illyrici legis æquoris; en erit unquam
> Ille dies, mihi cùm liceat tua dicere facta?
> En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
> Sola Sophoclea tua carmina digna cothurno?
> A te principium, tibi desinet; accipe jussis
> Carmina coepta tuis; atque hanc sine tempora circùm
> Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros.
>
> Bucol. VIII. 6.

With respect to Pollio's talents for criticism, we need not wonder if they were pointed against Sallust, when we find that he spared so few of his cotemporaries. Livy he discovered to be remarkable for provincial barbarisms; Cæsar to be possessed of neither diligence nor veracity; and Cicero to be destitute of taste! Sen. Suasor. VII. &c. —Sueton. Vit. Cæs. LVI.—Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. I. 5. p. 51. L. VIII. 1. p. 573. Edit. Hack. I shall quote, as a curious specimen, his opinion of Cæsar, as it has been reported by Suetonius. *Pollio Asinius parum diligenter, parumque integrâ veritate compositos (Commentarios) putat; quum Cæsar pleraque, et quæ per alios erant gesta, temerè crediderit, et quæ per se, vel consultò, vel etiam memoriâ lapsus, perperàm ediderit; existimatque rescripturum, et correcturum fuisse.* In Vit. Cæs. ubi sup. Pollio lived to the age of 80 (Euseb. Chronic. ad An. Abrah. 2020); or, according to others, to that of 120; unless he have been mistaken for Pollio Romulus, a person who likewise exceeded the age of a hundred, in the time of Augustus; and who, on being asked, by the emperor, concerning his art of preserving health to so advanced a period, made answer, *Intus mulso, foris oleo.* See Plin. Hist. Natur. L. XXII. 24.

(43.) *Omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt.* Sallust. Bel Jugurthin. II. Page 15.

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(44.) In the time of Trajan and the Antonines, i. e. about two centuries afterwards, this had actually taken place, and the evil may be said to have been then past a cure. The corruption, indeed, was universal. It extended to composition of every sort, and Petronius Arbiter, who charges it on the Rhetoricians, fairly declares, that even a poem, composed in tolerable taste, was no longer to be found. *Pace vestrâ liceat dixisse, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidistis. Levibus enim atque inanibus sonis ludibria quædam excitando effecistis, ut corpus orationis enervaretur et caderet . . Ne carmen quidem sani coloris enituit.* Satyric. II. See the subject of the Declaimers examined at length, in Note 22. anteh.

(45.) This device of recruiting the vigour of a polished language, by the judicious revival of old words, drawn from the early orators and poets of a country, though objected to by the fastidiousness of some, has been constantly practised by men of genius, and applauded by the great masters of composition in all ages, from the days of Cicero, Quintilian, and Longinus, down to the present time. That Sallust, in some instances, exceeded in the practice, and even violated the existing analogies of the Latin language, cannot be denied: But the reasonings on this subject, as well as the authorities by which they are supported, I reserve for Essay Second, on the Writings and Literary Character of Sallust, where they will be brought forward with greater propriety. At present, I shall state one authority only, which is no less satisfactory from the justness of the sentiment it conveys, than the respectability of the quarter from whence it proceeds. *Verba à vetustate repetita orationi efferunt majestatem aliquam, non sine delectatione: Nam et auctoritatem vetustatis habent; et, quia*

Page 16. *intermissa sunt, gratiam novitati similem parant.* Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. I. 6. p. 65. Edit. Hack.

(46.) *Æmulus Thucydidis Sallustius.* Vell. Paterc. L. II. 36.

(47.) *Cùm sit præcipua in Thucydide virtus brevitas, hac eum Sallustius vicit, et in suis illum castris cecidit.* Sen. Controvers. L. IV. 24. Epit. Declam. L. IX. 1. *At non historia cesserit Græcis; nec Thucydidi opponere Sallustium verear.* Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. X. 1.

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(48.) *Credibile est, Sallustium eâ re gravitatem styli captasse, et priscorum illorum Romanorum sermonem imitatum, quorum moribus erat dissimillimus, ut flagitiosæ vitæ maculas elueret, persuaderetque iis, quibus satìs notus non erat, falsa esse omnia, quæ de illo minus honesta jactabantur.* Cleric. Vit. Sallust.

(49.) When Le Clerc, in 1709, published his editon of the remains of Menander and Philemon (See Note 9. anteh.), which he dedicated to Lord Shaftesbury, the celebrated author of the Characteristics, he betrayed his deficiency in Greek learning. Bentley, in whose hands he was a child in point of literary strength, most severely chastized him, in his *Emendationes* on the work just now mentioned. It came out at Utrecht, under the fictitious signature of *Philelutherus Lipsiensis;* and, to complete the misfortune of poor Le Clerc, Peter Burmann wrote the Preface. In the foregoing year, that formidable critic had bestowed upon him much elaborate and virulent abuse, in his Preface to Petronius; and, indeed, it is difficult to decide which of the two pieces holds up the most complete specimen of literary Billingsgate.

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(50.) THE various persons of the name of Sallust, whom we cer- Page 17.
tainly know to have existed, may be distinguished in the following manner:

I. Sallust, who seems to have been a man of learning, and a philosopher or poet. He composed pieces after the manner of Empedocles. See Cic. Epist. ad Quint. Frat. L. II. 11.

II. Cn. Sallustius, an intimate and particular friend of Cicero's, and often mentioned with respect, in the course of his Familiar Letters. Such was his confidence in this friend, that he intended to put his son, young Cicero, under Sallust's protection, when he went to throw himself on the mercy of Cæsar. Epist. ad. Fam. XIV. 11.—See also Epist. ad Attic. L. XI. 11. &c.

III. Pub. Sallustius, the brother or kinsman of Cneus. Epist. ad Attic. L. XI. 11.

IV. Cn. Sallustius, Cicero's favourite and confidential Freedman. See De Divinat. L. XIV. 4.—Epist. ad Attic. L. I. 3. 11. &c.

V. Sallustius Caninius, a Proprætor, or Proquæstor, who served under Cicero, during his government of Cilicia. Epist. ad Fam. L. II. 17.

VI. Sallust the Historian; and, according to some, the same person whom Cæsar, as it is said in a Letter to Atticus (L. XI. 20.), generously pardoned, on becoming master of the government, for having taken up arms against him; and to whom M. Gallius restored the slaves, that, during the troubles, had been unjustly taken away. It is singular that Ernesti, whose accuracy in every thing relating to Cicero is so conspicuous, should believe this Sallust to have been the Historian (See his excellent *Clavis*, art. Sallust), a person whom Cæsar had no need to pardon; as we are assured, beyond a doubt, that, at least from the time of Milo's trial, he steadily adhered to the interests of the Dictator, and as uniformly opposed both Cicero and Pompey. The person, alluded to in the Letter to Atticus, is

Page 17. probably Cn. Sallustius, the particular friend of Cicero, already mentioned; because the great orator, in speculating concerning his own fate in this Letter, emphatically says, *etiam Sallustio ignovit*, "he has even pardoned Sallust"; the man who was the Quæstor and adherent of Bibulus, and is so closely connected with me (Epist. ad Attic. L. XI. 20.). But the error of Ernesti may be given as a proof (if any proof were needful) of the facility, with which persons bearing the same name, and living nearly in the same period, may be confounded together, by the most accurate writers.

VII. Sallustius Crispus, great nephew and heir to the Historian. He was the confidential minister of both Augustus and Tiberius, and, during the former emperor's life, the next after Mæcenas in the prince's favour. It is to this Sallust that Horace addresses the beautiful little Ode (L. II. 2.) on the proper use of the gifts of fortune; and the poet also celebrates, in the Satires (L. I. 2. v. 47. et seqq.), the extraordinary looseness of his manners. Sallustius Crispus died at a very old age, in the beginning of Tiberius's reign. See Tacit. Annal. L. III. 30.

In the subsequent Notes it will appear, how obviously some of these different persons have been mistaken for one another.

(51.) This lady was one of the most remarkable women of her time, and celebrated for her gallantries, no less than her beauty. Of her various lovers two, in particular, are upon record (See Hor. Sat. L. I. 2. v. 64—67); and the instance in the text seems not to have been the only one, in which they were so unfortunate as to receive corporal chastisement. It was on occasion of two others of her lovers, viz. Pompeius Macula and Fulvius Fullo (for thus, according to Torrentius, the name of the latter should certainly be read), paying their addresses to her at the same period, that her brother Faustus Sylla made the witty remark, which is preserved by Macrobius. *Faustus, Syllæ filius, cùm soror ejus eodem tempore duos mœchos*

haberet, Fulvium Fullonem, et Pompeium Maculam; Miror, inquit sororem meam habere maculam, cùm fullonem habeat. Saturnal. L. II. 2. *Fulvium fullonis filium* is the usual reading; but the point of the expression would thereby be considerably diminished. Any attempt, to render the wit of Faustus into English, must be very imperfect. It is easy to explain *macula* as signifying "a stain," and *fullo* "a fuller of cloth," as well as the proper names of the two gallants in question; but the double meaning of *habere* must be totally lost in a translation. "I wonder," says Faustus, "how the world should think that my sister's reputation can have a single *stain* upon it, when it is well known with what extraordinary diligence she employs the *fuller*." Page 17.

(52.) *Marcus Varro, in literis atque vitâ fide homo multâ et gravis, in libro quem inscripsit* Pius, aut De Pace, *C. Sallustium, scriptorem seriæ illius et severæ orationis, in cujus historiâ notiones censorias fieri atque exerceri videmus, in adulterio deprensum ab Annio Milone, loris bene cæsum dicit, et, cùm dedisset pecuniam, dimissum.* Noct. Att. L. XVII. 18.

(53.) The passages in Horace and Virgil, where this story is alluded to, are Sat. L. I. 2. v. 41. & 48, Æneid. L. VI. v. 612; and in the commentary of the antient Scholiasts, Acro, Porphyrio, and Servius, it is asserted, that the person, here meant, was Sallust the writer of the history. By Acro and Porphyrio we are likewise informed, that this is undoubtedly the *same* Sallust, to whom Horace, by name, inscribes a beautiful little Ode (the second of the second Book), on the proper use of the gifts of fortune, beginning *Nullus argento color est*, &c.; a fact which there can be no room to doubt, considering the age in which those Grammarians lived, and their opportunities of information from many documents, that are now unfortunately lost. There is, however, a considerable error in the

Page 17. Scholia on the Ode, which was first detected by the learned Torrentius. He beyond controversy shows, from an historical fact, recorded, at v. 17, by Horace himself, that the person there alluded to could *not* be our author, although it very probably might be his nephew Sallustius Cripsus: For in this passage, Phraates, king of Parthia, is stated to have been *then* restored to the throne of his ancestors; an event, which is well known to have taken place during the reign of Augustus, and certainly *long after Sallust the historian's death.*

> Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten,
> Dissidens plebi, numero beatorum
> Eximit virtus, populumque falsis
> Dedocet uti
> Vocibus.

For the restoration of the Persian prince, See Justin. L. XLII. 4. 5.—Dion. Cass. L. LIV.—Strab. L. XVI. p. 748. The adventure, indeed, with Fausta, the circumstances described in the Satires, and the well-known use, which the younger Sallust made of an immoderate fortune, all sufficiently correspond with his actual temper and manners, and, also, with the style of *Sallustius Crispus*, by which Acro has designated him, instead of *Caius Sallustius*, the usual appellation which is given to the elder Sallust. Thus it clearly appears, that, as the Sallust mentioned in the Ode, and the one mentioned in the Satires, were the *same person*, it is utterly impossible for it to have been the historian: And to those who reject the idea of the nephew, we may say, with Torrentius, *Alius ergo Sallustius quærendus est:* It must rest with them to discover some more suitable character, among the numerous persons of the name, who certainly lived in this period. See Note 49. anteh. Hence, likewise, we might be led to believe that Asconius Pedianus composed the lives of both the elder and the younger Sallust, productions which we have to lament are unfortunately lost.

In regard to the declaration of Aulus Gellius, that he took the anecdote concerning Fausta from Varro, it may be observed, that the

former speaks from memory only, and does not here, according to his usual practice when certain of a fact, give the passage from the original work, and, in the present case, from Varro's treatise *De Pace*, to which he refers. It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to believe, that he mistook the uncle for the nephew, or, at least, for some other Sallust than our author, particularly as the testimony of both Acro and Porphyrio unites in proving that this must have been the case.

Since the age of Torrentius, similar sentiments have been entertained, by the most learned critics, respecting Sallust's concern in the adventure with Fausta, on which such a superstructure of obloquy has been built; and Le Fevre, and Dacier, and others have subscribed to them. See Remarques sur Hor. Tom. II. (of the works of the last mentioned writer) pp. 51. 52. Tom. III. p. 139.

Notwithstanding the force of such evidence, it is singular to perceive with what persistency some late biographers of Sallust have given to him the honours of this adventure with the daughter of the Dictator. The worthy President de Brosses, who is, in general, pretty impartial, seems to have thought of nothing but the delightful effect it would have in his narrative; and, instead of bestowing any pains to enquire into its authenticity, he has taken it just as he found it in Le Clerc and Aulus Gellius, and then laid out all his skill in adorning it with the colours of a French fancy. Accordingly, he makes poor Sallust most curiously figure, as a Count or Marquis of the old regimen, who, in the fashionable circles of Paris, had first aspired to be a *bel esprit*, and, at length, acquired the envied title of *un homme à bonnes fortunes*. Having already given (in Note 52. anteh.) the story as it is told, in three lines, by Aulus Gellius, I shall now, for the entertainment of the reader, subjoin the ingenious amplification, by the learned President of the Parliament of Dijon. *Il est vrai que ce titre lui en coûta, dit-on, des complaisances du genre de celles, d'ont j'ai parlé plus haut, et qui ont fait dire de*

Page 17. *lui, comme de César, qu'il avoit été le mignon et l'adultere de toutes les ruelles. Une aventure assez désagréable interrompit, néanmoins, le cours de ces prospérités, et le dégoûta tout-à-fait du commerce des femmes de qualité. Il étoit éperduement amoureux de Fausta, fille du Dictateur Sylla, et femme de Milon. La Dame ne lui étoit pas cruelle, non plus qu'à ses autres amans, cinq desquels nous sont encore connus. On s'attachoit à elle par vanité d'avoir eu une femme d'un si haut rang, et pour l'honneur, dit Horace, qui s'en moque, d'être, à son tour, gendre du Dictateur. Soit hazard, soit que Salluste n'eût pas usé, pour cette fois, de son adresse ordinaire, il se laissa surprendre, par Milon, dans un moment fort essentiel, et tout-à-fait critique pour l'honneur du mari. Milon, à cette vue, sut conserver assez de flegme pour penser, qu'un incident de cette espece ne devoit pas être traité tragiquement, et qu'il dégoûteroit mieux Salluste du métier de galant, par un châtiment ridicule, que par une peine plus grave. Il le fit dépouiller par ses domestiques, et charger de coups d'étrivieres; après quoi, il le renvoya chez lui, en retenant une somme d'argent, qu'il avoit apporteé, sans doute, à toute autre occasion.* Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. p. 320.

If no other than a French Judge could have produced a delineation so gay and lively, surely no other than a Professor of Prague could have thus heavily copied it. *T. Annius Milo war einer der edelsten Römer, und der Gemal der Fausta, der Tochter der Diktators Sylla. Der wollüstige Geist ihres Vaters schien auch auf si vererbt zu seyn. Wir wissen noch iezt die Namen von fünf ihrer Leibhaber; Wie viele mag erst die Zeit vertilgt haben! Sallustius, vielleicht um sich der Schwägerschaft eines Diktators rühmen zu können, vielleicht auch würklich von ihrer Schönheit gereizt, war einer dieser Anbeter, und, ohne Zweifel, ein beglückter. Milo ertappte ihn einst in einem sehr kritischen Augenblick; schonte zwar seines Lebens; liess ihn aber von seinen Sklaven binden, mit Ruthen bis aufs Blut streichen, und zum Lösegeld eine ansehnliche Summe erlegen.* Leben des Sallust. p. 3,

prefixed to the translation of the Conspiracy of Catiline, by Professor Meisner of Prague, an author otherwise of uncommon merit; but whose account of Sallust, published so lately as in 1790, is extremely deficient in both correctness and candour. Page 17.

(54.) SEE the whole passage in Horace, Sat. L. I. 2. v. 37. et seqq. beginning;

> Audire est operæ pretium, procedere rectè
> Qui mœchis non vultis, ut omni parte laborent;
> Utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas,
> Atque hæc rara, cadat dura inter sæpè pericla. &c.

(55.) THE work of the Declaimer, probably Porcius Latro, or Vibius Crispus, as has been already mentioned, in Note 10. anteh. As I have observed of both these orations, if we except their scurrility, they are worthy the notice of the classical reader, on account of the purity of the style, in which they are composed, and the successful imitation they display of both the Sallustian, and Ciceronian manner. The best critics have agreed in referring them to the Augustan age, or, at least, to that of Tiberius. But this was not a very early judgment of the learned: For Vossius formally discusses the point; and, in the time of Lipsius, so fashionable was the topic, that that elegant scholar thought it worth his while to enter into a disquisition, for the purpose of investigating the authenticity of the pieces. See Orat. Jenens. p. m. 105. et seqq.—also Victor. Var. Lect. L. XV. 3.—Turneb. Adversar. L. XVI. 7. &c. What particularly puzzled the critics was, that Quintilian (Ins. Orat. L. IV. 1. p. 283. L. IX. 3. p. 689. Edit. Hack.) actually alludes to this oration against Cicero in the name of Sallust, by that specific title; and in one of the places, he quotes the very words with which it opens. It is likewise referred to by Donatus, ad Virg. Æneid. VI. It may, however, be observed, that both writers cite the *popular* title only of

Page 18. this Declamation, and Quintilian, in particular, with a view to illustrate a very different subject. In the same manner, Priscian, the Grammarian, always quotes the treatise on Rhetoric, addressed to Herennius, as the work of Cicero, without thereby intending to vouch that Cicero was the author; although it is, all the while, well known to be a spurious composition, and usually attributed to Lucius Cornificius. In fact, it would be absurd to suppose, that Quintilian for a moment believed in the authenticity of productions, which, in every page, contradict established facts, and wildly outrage both chronology and history. Professor Meisner, I believe, is the only late biographer, or critic of reputation, who has laid any stress on Quintilian's mention of them, or thought of appealing to them, like Le Clerc, as worthy of credibility.

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(56.) Of the complexion of these two Orations let the reader judge, from the following specimens. *An verò, Marci Tulli* (says Sallust to Cicero), *facta ac dicta tua obscura sunt? An non ita à pueritiâ vixisti, ut nihil flagitiosum corpore tuo putares, quod alteri conlibuisset? Scilicet, istam immoderatam eloquentiam apud M. Pisonem non pudicitiæ jacturâ perdidicisti? Itaque, minimè mirandum est, si eam flagitiosè venditas, quam turpissimè parasti. Verùm, ut opinor, splendor domesticus tibi animos adtollit. Uxor sacrilega, ac perjuriis delibuta; filia matris pellex, tibi jucundior, atque obsequentior, quàm parenti par est. Domum ipsam tuam vi, et rapinis, funestam tibi ac tuis, comparasti . . &c. Illud verò amicitiæ tantùm, ac virtutis est animi? Immo verò homo levissimus, supplex inimicis, amicis contumeliosus, modò harum, modò illarum partium, fidus nemini, levissimus Senator, mercenarius patronus, cujus nulla pars corporis à turpitudine vacat; lingua vana, manus rapacissumæ, gula immensa, pedes fugaces; quæ honestè nominari non possunt, inhonestissuma.* Declam. in Ciceron. I. II. III. Possibly the reader may find it difficult, under this disguise,

to recognize the great Cicero. But he will perceive, that the orator is supposed to pay back his opponent in the same coin, and even with interest. *Ea demum magna voluptas est* (says he), *Crispe Sallusti, æqualem, ac parem verbis vitam agere; neque quidquam tam obscœnum dicere, cui non ab initio pueritiæ omni genere facinoris ætas tua respondeat, ut omnis oratio moribus consonet . . Quò me vertam, Patres Conscripti, unde initium sumam? . . Patrem tuum prætereram; qui si numquam in vitâ suâ peccavit, tamen majorem injuriam Reipublicæ facere non potuit, quàm quòd te talem filium genuit. Neque, tu si quâ in pueritiâ peccasti, exsequar, ne parentem tuum videar accusare, qui eo tempore summam tui potestatem habuit; sed qualem adolescentiam egeris; hac enim demonstratâ, facilè intelligetur, quàm petulanti pueritiâ tam impudicus, et procax, adoleveris. Postea quàm immensæ gulæ impudicissumi corporis quæstus sufficere non potuit; et ætas tua jam ad ea patienda, quæ alteri facere conlibuisset, exoleverat; cupiditatibus infinitis efferebaris, ut, quæ ipse corpori tuo turpia non duxisses, in aliis experireris. Ita, non est facilè reputare, Patres Conscripti, utrùm inhonestioribus corporis partibus rem quæsierit, an amiserit.* &c. &c. Declam. in Sallust. I. V. In the midst of this shocking ribaldry, is there a single trace to be discovered of the real portrait of either Cicero or Sallust? Page 18.

It is certain, that the Greeks and Romans, with all their cultivation, were singularly deficient in what we term *delicacy*. Of the style of their conversation, in this respect, we can form but an inadequate idea, from the few specimens of their comedies that have reached us: But even the gravest writers, among those celebrated nations, often disgust the modern reader. What, for example, shall be thought of the wise, the polished Cicero, before the most august assembly in the world, describing, to the Conscript Fathers, the revolting spectacle of Mark Anthony, when he attempted, on a particular occasion, to address the people, after having drank to excess, the evening before, at the house of Hippia the Comedian. *O rem* (he exclaims) *non modò visu fœdam, sed etiam auditu! Si inter*

Page 18. *cœnam, in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis, hoc tibi accidisset* (i. e. *vomere postridie*) *quis non turpè duceret? In cœtu verò Populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpè esset, is vomens frustis esculentis, vinum redolentibus, gremium suum, et totum tribunal implevit!* Philip. II. 25. Nor does the discerning Quintilian, in his praise of the eloquence of the passage, so much as hint, to his pupils, a reflection on the gross indelicacy of every image it contains. See Inst. Orator. L. VIII. 4. p. 602. Edit. Hack. All this is certainly bad enough. But it is nothing to the torrent of scurrility and invective that is poured out, by the fictitious Sallust and Cicero, in the two Declamations just now mentioned.

(57.) It is with great unwillingness that I am forced to speak, with the disapprobation it merits, of the Life of Sallust by M. Meisner, Professor in the University of Prague, and one of the most learned men, as well as politest scholars in Germany. In an age, when party prejudices are generally seen to yield to liberality and candour, the retailing of stale and unfounded abuse was not to have been expected from such a critic; and it was natural to suppose, that the acute discussion of his countryman M. Wieland (which I have already noticed), united to the clear decisions of Torrentius, Dacier, Le Fevre, and other scholars, would for ever have put an end to the question, whether Sallust were only a rational voluptuary, or a monster of depravity in the human shape?

Swayed, it seems, by the opinions and arguments of Professor Roos of Giessen, contained in his *Versuchen über Klassiker* (a work which I have not seen), M. Meisner not only joins issue with him in defending the credibility of Sallust's being concerned in the intrigue with Fausta, but he far outstrips even the faith of that gentleman, by regularly quoting the orations of the Declaimer, as *authentic documents for the support of his narrative!!* This, indeed, Le Clerc had done before him. But Le Clerc prudently confined himself to

assertion only: M. Meisner undertakes to defend his assertions by argument. Not that I should ever dream, says he, that Cicero himself composed this violent attack on the historian, or believe that it is any other, than a paltry exercise of the Declaiming school. But, supposing the character of the speaker to be wholly fictitious; supposing his mode of reasoning to be ever so reprehensible, still the circumstances, on which it is built, may be consistent with fact. Writers of this sort, he observes, are always regulated by *such reports as are current at the time;* and, in following these, they often lose sight of the character they would represent. Had this same Declaimer advanced the direct, and abominable falsehoods with which he is charged, is it credible that the judicious Quintilian, who certainly lived within a century of the time, should have suffered himself to be duped by so shallow an artifice? One thing, he adds, is certain: Quintilian gravely quotes the pieces; and no writer of that, or of any subsequent age, has so much as attempted to overthrow their authenticity. Is it, then, to be believed, says M. Meisner, that so many authors would have been ungrateful to an elegant historian, whose reputation they might have thus easily skreened, in return for the instruction they had derived from his writings?—Lest it should be supposed that I have, in any wise, done injustice to the learned Professor's argument, I shall beg leave to subjoin it in his own words. *Nicht zwar, als ob es mir, auch im Traum nur einfiele, dass Cicero selbst dies Werklein geschrieben, oder abgelesen haben könte; nicht, als ob ich es für etwas anders, als eine höchst mittelmässige Uebung-Chrie hielte! Aber sei auch der Verfasser ganz erdichtet; der Vortrag ganz tadelnswerth; die Thatsachen können dennoch wahr genug seyn. Schriftsteller dieser Art halten sich immer an das algemeine Gerücht; ihm folgen sie, und fergessen darüber den Karakter des Redenden. Hätte diese Deklamation auch alzuviel* offenbare Lügen *in sich enthalten; so wäre es völlig unbegreiflich, wie sich Quintilian, ein Mann von solcher Kentnis, solchem Geiste, der erst ein Jahrhundert, nach dem* Page 18.

Page 18. *Sallustius lebte, davon hätte können täushen lassen. Gleichwohl citirt er sie im allen Ernste; und keiner der damaligen oder spätern Schriftsteller hat diese Kompilation wiederlegt. Solten sie denn, undankbar genug, alle geschwiegen haben, wenn sich der Schriftsteller hätte vertheidigen lassen, dem sie, als Schriftsteller, so algemeine Bewunderung eingestanden?* Vorred. pp. 4. 5.

Now, what shall we say to reasoning like this, especially from a scholar, and a person supposed to be acquainted with Roman literature and manners?—In the First place, the supposition that the Declaimers were always guided by "reports current at the time," and that their compositions, on that account, are founded in fact, is nothing less than true, which the slightest inspection of the specimens of their productions, preserved by the elder Seneca, will sufficiently testify. Who, for example, ever seriously believed (or, as M. Meisner would express it, *ihm zwar im Traum nur einfiel*), that Cicero, after having spoken his Philippics against Anthony, actually deliberated if he should *beseech him for mercy?* or that any real negociation, concerning the life of the great orator, had ever been set on foot, in which Anthony promised to spare it, if he would *agree to burn his writings?* Yet these, and various other topics, equally fanciful, but connected with history, were gravely agitated, by the most celebrated Declaimers, in the schools, during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. See Sen. Suasor. VI. VII. &c. The Rhetoricians avowedly, and most copiously, as I have noticed in the text, mingled *fiction* with truth; and, although the characters they introduced were often real, and their subjects taken from history, or the occurrences of the day, they treated both with what licence or incongruity they thought fit.—Agreeably, then, to the principle assumed by M. Meisner, the shocking depravity attributed to Cicero, in one of the Declamations which the Professor defends, must certainly have corresponded with the "general opinion at the time" *(das algemeine Gerücht)*, and, though embellished by

the writer, it must, therefore, be both founded in fact, and entitled to credibility! Page 18.

In the Second place, when Quintilian quoted, by name, the antient Declamation, and even mentioned the words with which it commences, it is very plain that his intention was to illustrate a principle in composition, not to vouch for an historical fact, and still less to express a belief in any of the monstrous absurdities which the production contains. He was by no means "duped" by such extravagancies: He quoted only the popular title of the Declamation; in the same manner (as I have already observed), as Priscian quotes the treatise on Rhetoric, *ad Herennium*, as Cicero's, without meaning to controvert, what every one knows, that it is, in fact, the inferior production of Lucius Cornificius.

It seems singular to me that M. Meisner should not have remembered, since such *literal* stress was to be laid on a casual expression of Quintilian's, that not a word is said, by that critic, concerning the Declamation by the Pseudo-Cicero against *Sallust*, but only concerning the one by the Pseudo-Sallust against *Cicero*: Literally, therefore, it is the portrait of the orator, and not of the historian, that is so outrageously caricatured. As a scholar, he should have known what both Turnebus and Barthius have said upon the point; and that, in their days, when the controversy was at its height, the learned critic last mentioned, seriously thought the oration against Sallust could not be genuine, on the very ground which I have stated. See Barth. Adversar. L. XXIV. 5. p. 1183.—See also Turneb. Adversar. L. XVI. 7. But admitting, as we now do, the claims of both to be of equal validity, M. Meisner will never refuse the same degree of credit to the delineation in the one, as to that in the other; and we shall hope to see him come forth as a new biographer of Cicero, and show, upon the authority of these Declamations (which are, of course, authentic, according to the *algemeine Gerücht* of the period), how singularly the world has misapprehended the great orator's character!—

Page 18. in which case, I promise to translate the piece, for the edification and emolument of my countrymen.

In the Third place, as to the fancy, that so many authors have manifested "ingratitude" to Sallust, in not taking the trouble to contradict the Declaimer, and overthrow his authority, it is to be observed, that that Rhetorician, who wrote professedly from the imagination, never *possessed* any authority that could be the object of attack; otherwise it would, long since, have been overthrown by the friends of Cicero, who were far more interested, than those of Sallust, in the question. As useful would it be for a man to undertake a regular proof, that all the extravagant fancies about Cicero and Anthony, about Agamemnon, Xerxes, or Alexander the Great, as given by Seneca from the works of the Declaimers, were really inconsistent with the truth of history!!

Let it here be noticed, that what I thus state against these Declamations, is drawn merely from the well known character of the antient Declamatory exercises in general, and is wholly independent of the still stronger internal evidence, which the two in question afford, of being undeserving of credit; namely, their numerous errors in point of chronology; their wild contradiction of historical facts; and, in a word, so complete a confusion of both things and persons, as never for a moment to countenance the idea, that they were *intended* to be believed by the world. See further on this, Note 16 posth.

There is, however, one argument to be derived from them, in relation to the adventure with Fausta, and our author's concern in that exploit, which, although presumptive, is fairly worth all the reasonings of the learned Professor, and that is, that, anxious as the composer of these pieces seems to have been to collect every scandalous anecdote respecting Sallust, yet he never so much as hints at this adventure. As it certainly was a story well known at the time at Rome, I leave it to be conceived with what avidity he would have adopted, and even embellished it, had it not then *publicly*

been *attributed* to some other individual of the name.—Whatever Page 18.
be the opinion of others as to the weight of this argument, I know that, in support of it, I must at least have Professor Meisner on my side; because it is on his own incontrovertible principle of the *algemeine Gerücht* that it evidently rests.

Upon the whole, I am very far from asserting that Sallust, considering his general character and manners, may not have had intrigues with ladies of birth and fashion at Rome. All I contend for is the impossibility of his having had any concern in the well-known adventure with Fausta, which probably may be referred to his nephew Sallustius Crispus. And I have bestowed the greater labour on demonstrating it on this account, that there is not one, among the numerous calumnies in regard to him, that has been more confidently asserted, or more generally and implicitly believed. Hence some notion may be formed of the correctness and candour of biographers and critics, in other instances.

Before we quit the subject of this controversy, on which nothing but the respectable name of M. Meisner could have induced me to dwell so very minutely, I am sorry to observe, that, as he has chosen to adopt M. Le Clerc as the model for his prejudices against Sallust, so he has not fallen short of his learned predecessor, in either the weakness of his arguments, or the erroneousness of his facts. Of the former enough has been said to satisfy the reader; and on the latter I shall subjoin but a very few observations.

First, he asserts (p. 5.), that Quintilian quotes passages out of *both* the Declamations *(er citirt Stellen, sowohl aus Ciceros Rede, als auch aus der sogenanten Sallustischen Deklamation)*; whereas the fact is, as above stated, that he quotes a few words from the one against Cicero only, in the Fourth Book (C. 1.); and he merely alludes to it again, in the Ninth Book (C. 3.); but without either quoting from, or referring, in any shape, to the other piece.—Secondly, M. Meisner (*Vorred.* pp. 4. 5. in Not.) holds forth, as his

Page 18. own ground for confidence in either Declamation, the opinion which such a writer as Quintilian entertained of their authenticity: And yet, in the Life of Sallust (p. 6.), he confesses, that, in that opinion Quintilian was completely mistaken ! ! !—Thirdly, in making mention of the historian's expulsion from the Senate, he tells us (*Leben des Sall.* p. 7. in Not.), that Dion Cassius gives, as the cause of it, the celebrated intrigue with Fausta. Now, it unluckily happens, that there is no such assertion to be found in all Dion Cassius. That historian well knew from how very different an origin the historian's disgrace proceeded; and, indeed, he pretty plainly alludes to it (in L. XL. p. 186. Edit. Stephan.), as will hereafter appear, when we come to that part of the narrative.

Such, then, is the general complexion of M. Meisner's facts and reasonings, in his Life of Sallust, which, as I am informed, has attracted considerable notice in Germany; and hence the impartial reader may be enabled to judge what degree of credit he should attach to the piece. I am very far from attributing, to this respectable scholar, the malignant motives which actuated Le Clerc. Rooted prejudice, and strange inadvertency seem to be the greatest crimes of the former. Yet it surely became M. Meisner, as a Biographer, by calm reflection to strive to divest himself of the one, and, by the study of antient authors, to avoid the other. Had this been the case, he would have had less reason, than he appears to feel, to pray for the forgiveness of his errors of the injured manes of the historian; and to disclaim, with such earnestness, all intention to blacken the memory of a writer, who had proved, he says, the solace of some of the most delightful hours of his life. *Irr' ich mich, so verzeihe es mir sein Schatten !—Denn warlich, aus Muthwillen möchte ich mich nicht mit an dem Andenken eines Geschichts-Schreibers versündigen, dem ich manche meiner angenehmsten Stunden verdanke.* Vorred. p. 6. Feeling as I do, towards Sallust, gratitude of a species similar to M. Meisner's, I may the more easily give him credit for sincerity; and he would

have had the better chance of obtaining the same allowance from the reader, had not his contriteness been accompanied with pretty nearly abuse enough to counteract it, in the *same* page of his publication. Page 19. 20. 21.

N. B. I had expected, either now, or at Note 53. anteh., to have laid before the reader some account of the opposite arguments of Professor Roos of Giessen, and of the ingenious M. Wieland, in regard to the character of Sallust; and, being acquainted, only by report, with the productions in which they are to be found, I had, some time since, written for them to Germany. I am sorry to say, on account of the troubles excited by French ambition in that part of the continent, that the books have not as yet come to hand; but I hope, before the present work is printed off, to be able to make some observations upon them in an Appendix.

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(58.) SEE Bel. Catilin. XIV. XVI. &c.

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(59. *Zu verwundern ist es, dass wir ihn nicht auch unter dem Zirkel antreffen, der damals von den ganzen zügellosen Jugend Roms, um Katilina herum, sich versammelte.* Meisner's Leben des Sall. p. 2.

(60.) WHAT is reported, by Suetonius, regarding Lenæus's attack on Sallust (which has been noticed in Note 11. anteh.), can be considered as nothing more than the abuse of an angry slave, who had no quality to recommend him, except gratitude to his master. I will not defile my page, by giving a translation of such scurrility, but only state the account, in the words of Suetonius. *Lenæus tanto amore erga patroni memoriam exstitit, ut Sallustium historicum, quòd oris probi, animo inverecundo scripsisset, acerbissimâ satyrâ lacerâvit; laurustum, et lurconem, et nebulonem, popinonemque appellans.* Of Lenæus's *judgment* in composition we may form some idea, from his opinion of Sallust as a writer; who, he says, was a monster of de-

Page 21. formity in his compositions, no less than in his life; an illiterate plagiary, who garbled Cato and the antients! *Vitâ scriptisque monstrosum; præterea priscorum Catonisque verborum ineruditissimum furem.* Sueton. de Illust. Grammat. XV.

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(61.) *Ab incepto studio me ambitio mala detinuerat.* Sallust. Bell. Catilin. IV.

(62.) Concerning the age, which qualified a Roman citizen for holding the Quæstorship *(ætas Quæstoria)*, the learned are not agreed. The most general opinion is, that it was five-and-twenty. See Dion. Cass. L. LII. 20. Others rest on the authority of Polybius (L. VI. 17.), who says, that it was necessary for the young Roman to serve in the army ten years, before he could aspire to any civil dignity. As the military age was seventeen, so the age requisite for the Quæstorship would, in that manner, be seven-and-twenty. Dr Adam, whose accuracy is remarkable, seems to think, from Cicero's progression in the magistracy, that it must have been no less than thirty-one. See Rom. Antiq. p. 4. The duty of the Quæstor consisted principally in the charge of the treasury, and of collecting the public revenues. The Quæstors were so called *à quærendo. Publicas pecunias conquirebant.* Varr. de Ling. Lat. L. IV. 14. p. 15. Edit. Gothof. Of these magistrates the numbers were various, at different periods. Originally they were four only: In the time of Sallust, they had been encreased to twenty, by Sylla (Tacit. Annal. L. XI. 22.); and Julius Cæsar soon doubled the last mentioned number. See Dion. Cass. L. XLIII. 47. It seems a doubtful point, whether the dignity of Quæstor conferred the right of admission into the Senate, as a matter of course, or whether it only enabled the person, who held it, to be elected into that body, by the Censors. See Aul. Gell. L. III. 18.—Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 4. & 144—147.

(63.) *Inter eum* (says an elegant writer, speaking of Julius Cæsar), Page 22. *et Cn. Pompeium, et Marcum Crassum, inita potentiæ societas, quæ urbi, orbique terrarum, nec minùs, diverso quoque tempore, etiam ipsis, exitiabilis fuit.* Vell. Paterc. L. II. 44.

Tu causa malorum
Facta tribus dominis communis, Roma, nec umquam
In turbam missi feralia fœdera regni.
Lucan. Pharsal. L. I. 84.

See likewise Liv. Epit. CIII.—Plutarch. in Jul. Cæs. & Pomp.—Flor. L. IV. 2.—Dion. Cass. L. XXXVII. 33.

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(64.) Sallust. Bel. Catilin. LVII.

(65.) Vell. Paterc. L. II. 45.—Plutarch. in Vit. Ciceron. p. 876. Edit. Francof.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 721. Edit. Toll.—Dion. Cass. L. XXXVIII. p. 78. Edit. Xyland. Plutarch says 500 miles from Italy; Dion Cassius only 468. Properly speaking, Cicero was not *accused* before the People. As soon as Clodius, by his intrigues and influence as Tribune, had procured the enactment of a special law, prohibiting from fire and water, as it was called, whosoever had taken away the life of a citizen, uncondemned, and without a trial *(aquâ et igni interdiceretur,* Vell. Paterc.), Cicero, perceiving that it was pointed at himself, and consulting his fears, rather than his dignity or his innocence, secretly withdrew from the city, as is stated in the text. Sentence of exile was, in consequence, passed upon him. See Orat. pro Dom. XVIII. XX.—Post Red. in Senat. II. X. &c. This pusillanimous step, however, he sorely repented. He fairly calls it *turpissimum consilium* (Epist. ad Attic. L. III. 15.); and wishes to ascribe the measure to the advice of treacherous friends (Epist. ad Quint. Frat. L. I. 3. 4.—Ad Attic. L. III. 15. &c.); although, after his recal, we

Page 23. 24. 25. find him endeavouring to gloss it over with the specious names of prudence, and the love of peace. See Orat. post Red. in Senat. XIII. XIV.

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(66.) See Lips. Disquisit. inter Oration. Jenens. p. m. 105. seqq.

(67.) See Ascon. Pedian. in Cic. Milon.—Hieronym. Op. Tom. IV. P. II. p. 190. Besides this, the cold commendation bestowed on Cicero, in the Conspiracy of Catiline, cannot well be accounted for on any other principle. (Sallust. Bel. Catilin. XXIV. & XLIV.) *Egregius homo,* and *Consul optimus,* as it were incidentally mentioned, are but poor expressions of praise, when applied to the merit of Cicero, in that alarming crisis; and are inconsistent with Sallust's candour, on every other occasion.

(68.) *Il avoit luiméme, autant que personne, le foible qu'il connoissoit si bien en autrui, de se laisser trop entraîner à son charactere.* De Brosses, Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. p. 318.

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(69.) *Quicumque rempublicam agitavere honestis nominibus, alii, secuti jura populi defenderent, pars, quò Senati auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro suâ quisque potentiâ certabant. . Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta sunt. Respublica, quæ media fuerat, dilacerata.* Sallust. Bel. Catilin. 39. & Bel. Jugurthin. 45.

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(70.) See Ascon. Pedian. in Cic. Milon. & Act. diurn.—Also Cic. Declam. in Sallust. II. &c.

(71.) See Sallust. de Repub. Ordin. ad Cæs. Epist. I. 1.

(72.) Id. Epist. I. 5. 6. Page 26. 27.

(73.) *Namque cœpere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem, in libidinem vertere; sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere . . Neque illis modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.* Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. XLV. Also Ibid. XLVI. and Bel. Catilin. XXXIX.

(74.) *Cæterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat; plebis vis, soluta atque dispersa, in multitudine minùs poterat . . Igitur, hæc multitudo, in artes, vitasque varias dispalata, nullo modo inter se congruens, parum mihi quidem idonea videtur ad capessendam rempublicam.* Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. XLV. & de Repub. Ordin. Epist. I. 6.

(75.) Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. XIII. XVIII. XIX. XLV. *Populus militiâ, atque inopiâ urgebatur . . Sed ut sæpe nobilitatem, sic plebem, ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.* Ibid. XLIV. XLV.

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(76.) Sallust. Bel. Catilin. III.

(77.) Sallust. Bel. Catilin. XXXIX.

(78.) Sallust. Bel. Catilin. III.

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(79.) The Romans, after they became enlightened, did not account their education complete, unless they had studied under their masters, the Greeks. Cicero, for this purpose, not only visited Athens, and other parts of Greece himself, but sent his son Marcus thither; and, on every occasion, he freely acknowledges his obligations to that polished

Page 27. and elegant people. *Meos amicos* (says he) *in quibus est studium, in Græciam mitto; id est, ad Græcos ire jubeo; ut ea à fontibus potiùs hauriant, quàm rivulos consectentur.* Academ. Quest. L. I. 2.—See, likewise, Epist. ad Quint. Frat. L. I. 9. Horace, in like manner, though by no means a pattern for correct morals, acknowledges his obligations to the groves, and to the philosophy of the Academy:—

> Adjicere bonæ paulò plus artis Athenæ;
> Scilicet ut curvo possem dignoscere rectum,
> Atque inter silvas Academi quærere verum.
> Epist. L. II. 2. v. 43.

(80.) SALLUST, in the Conspiracy of Catiline (S. L.), makes Cæsar deliver sentiments consistent with those of Epicurus, in regard to a future state; and such, it is well known, were entertained by that great man himself, and expressed in his celebrated speech in the Senate; *Mortem cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultrà neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse.* But, in his First Letter on the Administration of the Government, he does not fail to remind his patron, that his own opinions are widely different. With me, says he, it is a fixed principle, that human affairs are ever under the guidance of a divine providence, whose all-seeing eye discriminates between good and evil; and who will impartially requite whatsoever is done by the just, and by the unjust. Retribution, though it may be slow, will come at last; and conscience, meanwhile, an unerring monitor, will intimate to every man what he has to hope or to fear, in that trying period.—*Mihi pro vero constat, omnium mortalium vitam divino numine invisi; neque bonum, neque malum facinus cujusquam pro nihilo haberi, sed ex naturâ, diversa præmia bonos malosque sequi. Interea, fortè, ea tardiùs procedunt: Suus cuique animus spem ex conscientiâ præbet.* Epist. ad Cæs. I. 14. This sublime doctrine Sallust obviously borrowed from the esoteric principles of the Socratic school, as delivered by Plato, who did not here display, as Mr Gibbon quaintly phrases it, "at

once the strength and the weakness of the human understanding," but Page 27.
he delineated them with a clearness and precision, worthy of a better age. These important tenets, however, were not openly inculcated, in face of either the corruptions, or the prejudices of the times, but were reserved solely for the initiated.—Were we to inform the wicked, says this excellent philosopher, that, if they do not, in this life, dismiss their depravity, they cannot, after death, hope to be admitted into the pure mansions of the good, into which no evil enters; but that their present manners will certainly adhere to them in another world, where they will abide with none but unworthy associates like themselves. Were we to tell them these awful truths, adds he, would they not audaciously declare, that they were the dreams of a distempered fancy? *Ἐὰν δ' εἴπωμεν ὅτι, ἂν μὴ ἀπαλλαγῶσι τῆς δεινότητος, καὶ τελευτήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὁ τῶν κακῶν καθαρός τόπος οὐ δέξεται, ἐνθάδε δὲ τὴν αὐτοῖς ὁμοιότητα τῆς διαγωγῆς ἀεὶ ἕξουσι, κακοὶ κακοῖς συνοντες· ταῦτα δὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ὡς δεινοὶ καὶ πανοῦργοι, ἀνοήτων τινῶν ἀκούσονται.* Theætet. p. 177. Tom. I. Edit. Serran.

(81.) Bibulus was so greatly overawed by his colleague, that he shut himself up in his own house, and declined all active share in the administration, during the greater part of the time that they continued together in office. Hence, the wags of Rome, in jocularly putting their names to any writing at the time, did not date, in the style which was usual on such occasions, "during the Consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus," but "during the Consulship of Julius and Cæsar;" thinking, when they inserted the name and surname of the efficient Consul, that they made the date to correspond with the style of their administration. *Nonnulli urbanorum, quum quid per jocum testandi gratiâ signarent, non* Cæsar et Bibulo, *sed* Julio et Cæsare Coss., *actum scriberent; bis eundem præponentes, nomine atque cognomine; utque vulgò mox ferrentur hi versus:*

Page 28. Non Bibulo quidquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum est;
Nam Bibulo fieri Consule nil memini.

Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. XX.—Dion Cassius makes mention of the same piece of wit. Ὀθενπερ χαριεντιζόμενοί τινες (says he), τὸ μὲν τῷ Βιβύλῳ ὄνομα παντάπασιν ἀπεσιώντων· τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα, δύο καὶ ὠνόμαζον καὶ ἔγραφον, Γάϊόν τε Καίσαρα, καὶ Ἰάλιον Καίσαρα ὑπατεύειν λέγοντες. L. XXXVIII. 7. Edit. Reimar.

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(82.) Although Cæsar's power was, at this time, in its infancy, he began to discover marks of that boundless ambition, and those extraordinary talents, which made Sylla say of him, while yet a stripling, That the sagacity of those persons was small indeed, who did not, in that boy, perceive many Mariuses. Οὐκ ἔφη νῷν ἔχειν αὐτὸς, εἰ μὴ πολλὰς ἐν τῷ παιδὶ τούτῳ Μαρίους ἑωρῶσι. Plutarch. in Jul. Cæs. p. 707. Edit. Francof. At the juncture alluded to in the text, he had just returned from Spain, and was standing candidate for his first Consulship. As Pompey and Crassus, the two most powerful men in Rome, were then at variance, Cæsar readily perceived, that, if he sided with the one, he was sure to have an enemy in the other; and, therefore, undertook to bring about a reconciliation between them. The task, in itself, was sufficiently honourable, and, in appearance, calculated for the public good. The motives, from which it proceeded, were deeply insidious, although concealed under the cloak of a most subtle policy. Hence, when some superficial observers were afterwards deploring the rupture, that took place between Cæsar and Pompey, and which, they dreaded, would bring the Commonwealth to ruin, Cato shrewdly told them, that their sorrow was misplaced, and should have been bestowed on a very different event: It was not, he said, the contests and quarrels of those dangerous citizens, but their concord and coalition, that had given to the constitution the fatal blow. Ὁρῶν δ', ὅτι, Καίσαρ πρὸς

Πομπήϊον διαφερομένε, θατέρῳ προσθέμενος, ἐχθρῷ χρήσεται τῷ ἑτέρῳ, τρέπε- Page 28.
ται πρὸς διαλλαγὰς ἀμφοῖν, πρᾶγμα καλὸν μὲν ἄλλως καὶ πολιτικὸν, αἰτία δὲ φαύλη, καὶ μετὰ δεινότητος ὑπ' ἐκείνε συντεθὲν ἐπιβέλως . . Ὁ γὲν Κάτων τὲς λέγοντας ὑπὸ τῆς ὕστερον γενομένης πρὸς Καίσαρα Πομπηΐῳ διαφορᾶς ἀνατραπῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἁμαρτάνειν ἔλεγεν, αἰτιωμένες τὸ τελευταῖον· οὐ γὰρ τὴν στάσιν, ἐδὲ τὴν ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ τὴν σύστασιν καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει πρῶτον κακὸν γενέσθαι καὶ μέγιστον. Plutarch. in Pomp. p. 643. 644. Edit. Francof.—See also Dion. Cass. L. XXXVII. 33. p. 61. 62. Edit. Xyland.—Appian. de Bel. Civ. L. II. p. 716. Edit. Toll.

(83.) *Hoc consilium Pompeius habuerat, ut tandem acta in transmarinis provinciis per Cæsarem confirmarentur consulem: Cæsar autem, quòd animadvertebat, se cedendo Pompeii gloriæ aucturum suam; et, invidiâ communis potentiæ in illum relegatâ, confirmaturum vires suas: Crassus, ut quem principatum solus assequi non poterat, auctoritate Pompeii, viribus teneret Cæsaris.* Vell. Paterc. L. II. 44. Florus, in his concise manner, after very justly characterizing the members of this celebrated league, states their several views with uncommon neatness. Cæsar, says he, was anxious to acquire, Crassus to increase, and Pompey to preserve, an immoderate influence; and thus, all the three being alike ambitious, they readily agreed in seizing upon the government. *Sic igitur Cæsare dignitatem comparare, Crasso augere, Pompeio retinere, cupientibus, omnibusque pariter potentiæ cupidis, de invadendâ republicâ facilè convenit.* L. IV. 2. p. 367. ap. Elzevir.

(84.) Cæsar, by his unlimited liberality in furnishing shows to the people, had incurred debts to an enormous amount. When on the eve of setting out for Spain, the province that fell to him after his Prætorship, he was fairly stopped by his creditors in Rome. But Crassus stood forward, as his surety, for more than two millions of our money (*bis millies et quingenties*; i. e. L. 2,018,229 : 3 : 4 Sterling); so

Page 28. 29. much did he want, as he jocularly said, to be worth nothing! Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αἱρεθείς, ἐπεὶ μέντοι πρὸς τῶν χρεστῶν διεκρατεῖτο ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πολὺ πλέονα τῆς περιουσίας ὄφλων διὰ τὰς φιλοτιμίας. ὅτε φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δέοιτο δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων, ἵνα ἔχοι μηδέν. Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 715. Edit. Toll. See also Plutarch. in Jul. Cæs. p. 712. Edit. Francof.—Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. XVIII.

(85.) Ὅτ' αὖ ἐφοβήθη, μὴ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες, κρείττες αὐτῶ γένωνται.. πάνυ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εὐθὺς διὰ τῆς ἠπείνων φιλίας, αὐτῶν δ' ὲ πολλῷ ὕστερον δι' ἀλλήλων κρατήσοι. Dion. Cass. L. XXXVII. p. 62. Edit. Stephan. Scruples he had none, about either the laws or the constitution. The latter, he observed, in his time had dwindled away to an empty name; a mere form, without substance or reality. *Nihil esse rempublicam, appellationem modò, sine corpore et specie* (Amp. ap. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. LXXVII.): But the remark was rash and unpopular, and diligently made use of, by his enemies, against him. See C. LXXVIII. &c. &c.

(86.) See Middleton's life of Cicero, Vol. I. p. 299.

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(87.) *Fuit apud me Cornelius, hunc dico Balbum, Cæsaris familiarem. Is affirmabat, eam omnibus in rebus meo et Pompeii consilio usurum, daturumque operam, ut cum Pompeio Crassum conjungeret. Hi sunt hæc. Conjunctio mihi summa cum Pompeio; si placet etiam, cum Cæsare.* Epist. ad Attic. L. II. 3.—See also Orat. de Provin. Consular. XVII.

(88.) *Nunc verò, cùm cogar exire de navi, non abjectis, sed receptis gubernaculis, cupio istorum naufragia ex terrâ intueri; cupio, ut ait amicus tuus Sophocles,*

——————— καὶ ὑπὸ στέγῃ Page 29.
Πυκνὰς ἀκούειν ψεκάδος εὐδούσῃ φρενὶ.
Epist. ad Attic. L. II. 7.

Under the shelter of a good warm roof,
With mind serenely calm, and prone to sleep,
Hear the loud storm, and beating rain without.

Cicero, in the series of Letters written to his friend Atticus, from his Consulship down to the time of his death, and published afterwards in Sixteen Books, has preserved a complete, and most interesting picture of the transactions of this period; so complete, indeed, that it may be considered almost as a regular history. Here the views of the different parties, the errors of the leading men, and the political changes that took place in the commonwealth, are amply delineated. By his own efforts, indeed, he was unable to save the constitution: But, with a warning voice, he clearly predicted all that came to pass, not only in regard to the events he himself lived to witness, but as to others, also, that followed, under the confirmed dominion of Augustus. *Edita sunt sexdecim volumina epistolarum, ab consulatu ejus, usque ad extremum tempus, ad Atticum missarum; quæ qui legat, non multùm desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum; sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus reipublicæ, perscripta sunt, ut nihil in his non appareat . . Non enim Cicero ea solùm, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit, sed etiam quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit ut vates.* Corn. Nep. in Vit. Att. p. 145. Edit. Delph. In various parts of his writings, we find him lamenting the vain ambition, that had so unprofitably detained him from the muses. Yet, as he advanced in life, his ambition seems to have suffered no abatement; and he could not reasonably hope, at one and the same time, to share in the pleasures of philosophical retirement, and the bustle of political life; the former of which his friend Atticus so calmly enjoyed, and his contemporary Lucretius has so beautifully described.

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Suavè, mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
È terrâ magnum alterius spectare laborem.
Non quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas;
Sed, quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere suavè est.
Suavè etiam belli certamina magna tueri,
Per campos instructa, tuâ sine parte periclî:
Sed nil dulcius est, bene quàm munita tenere
Edita doctrinâ Sapientum templa serena;
Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
Errare, atque viam palantes quærere vitæ.
De Nat. Rer. L. II. init.

(89.) The disorders at Rome, in this period, are described in lively colours by Plutarch, who tells us, that men of reflection scrupled not publicly to declare, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate condition of the state. That physician ought, of course, to be preferred, who would administer the remedy with the gentlest hand; by which, he adds, they pointed at Pompey. Πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν οἱ καὶ λέγειν ἐν μέσῳ τολμῶντες ἤδη, πλὴν ὑπὸ μοναρχίας ἀνήκεστον εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο χρῆναι τῇ πραοτάτῃ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι προσφέροντος· ὑποδηλοῦντες τὸν Πομπήϊον. Jul. Cæs. XXVIII. Edit. Reiske. They probably would soon have discovered their error, had Pompey been suffered to make the experiment.—Of the contest, which took place between him and Cæsar, we may truly say, what Sallust observed on another occasion, That power is fairly the purchase of vigour and talents; and, in such struggles, it is transferred from the less, to the more deserving competitor. *Imperium semper, ad optumum quemque, à minùs bono transfertur.* Bel. Catilin. II.

(90.) It was the remark of Cato, that of all those who had conspired to overthrow the constitution, Cæsar alone was free from the stain of drunkenness or dissipation; and that his plan of ambition was cool, deliberate, and systematic. *Unum ex omnibus Cæsarem ad evertendam*

rempublicam sobrium accessisse. Sueton. in Vit. Cæs. LIII. His moral code was comprised in two verses of Euripides, which, it is said, he greatly admired, and as frequently repeated: Page 29. 30.

Εἰπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρὴ, τυραννίδος πέρι
Κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν· τἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.
Phæniss. v. 527.

For nought but sov'reign power transgress the laws
Of Right; nought else can sanctify the cause.

See Cic. de Offic. L. III. 21.—Sueton. in Vit. Cæs. XXX. It is certain, that as Cæsar had raised himself to a height of power, which none of the usurpers, that went before him, ever attained, so it was by wading through a sea of blood, which none of them had ever caused to flow. He used himself to acknowledge, that his victories in Gaul alone had cost about one million two hundred thousand lives; and to this number if we add the destruction occasioned by the civil wars, the whole amount cannot be less than I have stated it in the text. *Undecies centena et nonaginta duo hominum millia occisa prœliis ab eo .. quod ita esse confessus est ipse, bellorum civilium stragem non prodendo.* Plin. Hist. Natur. L. VII. 25. Yet the quiet possession of the sovereignty he did not enjoy more than five months; when he fell a victim, as was predicted by Cicero, to the odium and unpopularity, which his usurpation had excited. *Neque illi, tanto viro .. plus quam quinque mensium principalis quies contigit.* Vell. Paterc. L. II. 56. *Jam intelliges* (says the great orator, in confidentially writing to his friend Atticus) *id regnum vix semestre esse posse .. nos tamen confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus, nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. Corruat iste necesse est, aut per adversarios, aut ipse per se .. et id spero vivis nobis fore.*

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(91.) See our author's idea of Cæsar, in the masterly and eloquent character he has given of him, Bel. Catilin. LVII.—See also Epist.

Page 30. de Repub. Ordin. Perhaps, were we desired to name the greatest man of all antiquity, it would be this extraordinary person; it being difficult to decide which are most conspicuous, the extent of his literary talents, or that surprising quickness and versatility of genius, which embraced alike every department of business, or of knowledge. (*Sublimitatem omnium capacem, quæ cælo continentur, proprium vigorem, celeritatemque quodam, igne volucrem.* Plin. Hist. Natur. L. VII. 25. See also Vel. Paterc. L. II. 41.). At once an able statesman, a consummate general, an accomplished orator, an acute philologist, and a pleasing poet, he eminently shone in those various branches, in which, singly, common men are satisfied to arrive at equal excellence.

Of his public character nothing need be said in this place, as that is generally known, and has been fairly appreciated: But it may be mentioned, with truth, that his magnanimity, his generosity, and his other amiable qualities, were no less powerful to win the attachment, than his various accomplishments to command the admiration of men. Cicero, whose political hatred of him was insuperable, candidly acknowledges his literary merit. He allows him to be an admirable writer; pure and elegant, without affectation, and always beautiful, though unindebted to ornament. As a speaker, he says, he was surpassed by no man, who had even made eloquence the study of his life. His ideas were always ingenious: They flowed with facility; and the language, in which he dressed them, was equally rich and graceful. Of all the eminent orators of that day, he may be said to be the person, who spoke the Latin tongue with the greatest purity; a perfection he attained, not only by early habit, but by diligent application, by profound erudition, and by a thorough knowledge of polite letters.—In the judgment of Quintilian, had Cæsar devoted his whole time to composition and eloquence, he would certainly have become the great rival of Cicero: For such was the vigour of his conceptions, the acuteness of his reasoning, and the animation of his manner, that he may be said to have spoken with a spirit not inferior to that, with

which he contended in the field. *Commentarios scripsit rerum suarum,* Page 31.
valde quidem probandos. Nudi enim sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veste, detracto. De Clar. Orator. LXXV. *Oratorum quem huic antepones eorum, qui nihil aliud egerunt? Quis sententiis aut acutior, aut crebrior? Quis verbis aut ornatior, aut elegantior?* Cic. ap. Sueton. in Vit. Cæs. LV. *Illum omnium ferè oratorum Latinè loqui elegantissimè. Nec id solùm domesticâ consuetudine . . ut esset perfecta illa benè loquendi laus, multis literis, et iis quidem reconditis et exquisitis, summoque studio et diligentiâ est consecutus.* De Clar. Orator. LXXII. *Caius verò Cæsar, si foro tantùm vacâsset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur: Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat.* Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. X. 1. p. 752. Edit. Hack. Who is there but must lament, that so extraordinary a person, instead of becoming, like other conquerors, the scourge of mankind, had not dedicated his attention to philosophy and the muses?

(92.) THE Tribunes of the People were magistrates, annually elected, for the purpose of preserving the people's rights against the encroachments of the nobility. At first, they were five in number (Liv. L. II. 33.); but that number, at length, was increased to ten (Id. L. III. 30). During the republic, these magistrates were obliged to be chosen from among the common people; or the candidates, if Patricians, must first have been adopted into Plebeian families (Cic. pro Dom. XVI.—Sueton. Jul. Cæs. XX.). Their chief power consisted in being able to put a negative on the proceedings of the other magistrates, or of the Senate; and under this pretext, and the right of haranguing the people, their authority became exorbitant. They were, in general, also, the public accusers, in criminal trials before the People (Val. Max. L. VI. 1.—Aul. Gell. L. X. 6.—Liv. L. III. 24, &c.). At last, from the time of Augustus (Sueton. Aug. XXVII.—Tacit. An. L. III. 56.), the Tribunitian and Imperial prerogatives were

Page 31. never separated; as the former, in the hands of a subject, was wholly inconsistent with a despotic government.

(93.) See Ascon. Pedian. Argument. in Cic. pro Mil.

(94.) Plutarch, who reprobates, in strong terms, the inordinate ambition of both (See Vit. Pomp. p. 647), says, that after Crassus's death, there remained nothing for Cæsar to do, in order to render himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him who was in possession of the title; nor for Pompey, in order to prevent it, but to cut off the man whom he feared. Καίσαρι δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐδέδοκτο καταλύειν Πομπήϊον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει κἀκείνῳ τοῦτον. Κράσσου γὰρ ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπολωλότος, ὃς ἦν ἔφεδρος ἀμφοῖν, ἀπελείπετο τῷ μὲν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ γενέσθαι μεγίστῳ, τὸν ὄντα καταλύειν, τῷ δὲ, ἵνα μὴ πάθῃ τοῦτο, προαναιρεῖν, ὃν ἐδεδοίκει. Jul. Cæs. XXVIII. Edit. Reiske.

(95.) All the Roman writers agree in representing Crassus's death, and particularly that of Julia (who died in child-bed), as a public calamity, at this critical juncture. See Vell. Paterc. L. II. 47.—Valer. Maxim. L. IV. 6. iv.—Plutarch. in Jul. Cæs. p. 719. et Pomp. p. 647. Julia was the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Cæsar, by Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna. She had married Servilius Cæpio; but was forced by her father to divorce him, in order that she might give her hand to Pompey. Sueton. in Cæs. XXI. The poet Lucan pathetically deplores her untimely death; declaring, with historical truth, that Julia was a person whose rare endowments and address had been able to sooth the rage and jealousy of those ambitious rivals; and that with an influence not less successful, than the Sabine women of old displayed, in the field of battle, over their fathers and their husbands.

Parcarum, Julia, sævâ
Intercepta manu. Quòd si tibi fata dedissent
Majores in luce moras, tu sola furentem

Indè virum poteras, atque hinc retinere parentem; Page 32.
Armatasque manus excusso jungere ferro,
Ut generos soceris mediæ junxêre Sabinæ.
Pharsal. L. I. v. 113.

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(96.) See Ascon. Pedian. Argument. in Ciceron. Milon. Also Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 160. Edit. Xyland. *Quanquam re vera fuerat pugna fortuitò.* Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. VI. 5. p. 498. Edit. Hack. —Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 725. 726. Edit. Toll. The feud between Clodius and Milo was of some standing; but it had risen to the greatest height a few years before (A. U. C. 696.), when Milo, by his address and boldness, procured Cicero's recal from exile, notwithstanding all the efforts of their mutual adversary. At this time (A. 701.), as Milo had proposed himself for the Consulship, he was, in his turn, strenuously opposed by the power of the Clodian faction. There were, besides, for this high office two other competitors, Plautius Hypsæus, and Metellus Scipio, of whom the latter soon after became father-in-law to Pompey, and his colleague in office. When Scipio, Hypsæus, and Milo stood for the consulship, says Plutarch, every excess and outrage was committed, by means of their intrigues. Not content with the infamous practices, already so common, of bribery and corruption, they had recourse to arms, and violence, and murder; and openly attacked one another, with all the fury of civil war. Some proposed that Pompey should be commissioned to preside at the elections. But Cato set his face against the measure, magnanimously declaring, that it was beneath the majesty of the laws to owe their security to Pompey: Pompey, he said, should derive his security from the laws. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, Σκιπίωνος καὶ Ὑψαίου καὶ Μίλωνος ὑπατείαν μετερχομένων, ἃ μόνον ἐκείνοις τοῖς συντρόφοις ἤδη καὶ συμπολιτευομένοις ἀδικήμασι, δωροδοκίαις καὶ δεκασμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς δι' ὅπλων καὶ φόνων εἰς ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὠθεμένων τόλμῃ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ, Πομπήϊον τινὲς ἠξίεν ἐπιστῆναι ταῖς

Page 33. ἀρχαιρεσίαις· τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Κάτων, ἐ τοῖς νόμοις ἐκ Πομπήϊε φάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νόμῶν Πομπήϊῳ δεῖν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. Vit. Caton. Minor. p. 782. Edit. Francof. Cato, however, was soon forced to relax from the dignity of this sentiment, when three regular armies were daily seen besetting the Forum (τρία στρατοπέδα τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁσημέραι περίειχόντο), and threatening to annihilate all social order. See likewise Vell. Paterc. L. II. 47.—Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 159. Edit. Stephan.

(97.) *Sunt concionati eo die, ut ex actis apparet, Caius Sallustius et Quintus Pompeius* (Rufus), *utrique et inimici Milonis, et satìs inqueti.* Ascon. Pedian. in Ciceron. Milon. XVII. et Act. Diurn. ibi citat. See also Vell. Paterc. L. II. 47.—Dion Cass. L. XL. p. 160.

(98.) Ascon. Pedian. Argument. in Ciceron. Milon. Cicero, in his pleading for Milo, speaks of these funèral harangues, as he terms them, with great indignation. In his sarcastical manner, he calls Plancus, against whom he had particular cause to be exasperated, *ambustus ille Tribunus plebis,* "that notorious, half-burnt Tribune;" alluding to the conflagration of the Senate-house by the frenzy of the mob, and the situation of the Rostra, which, as Asconius says (in Milon. V.), then stood immediately adjoining to it; where the three Tribunes continued to declaim, until they were driven away by the flames from the building. *Declarant hujus ambusti Tribuni plebis intermortuæ conciones, quibus quotidie meam potentiam invidiosè criminabatur, cùm diceret, Senatum non quod sentiret, sed quod ego vellem, decernere.* Orat. pro Mil. V.

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(99.) It was from the circumstances of Sextus Clodius here heading the mob, that Cicero, who, in the midst of his eloquence, never lost his joke, calls him, in his pleading for Milo, "that luminary of

the Senate" *(lumen curiæ)*. Sextus, it seems, had met Cicero a few days after the riot, and still swelling with the idea of his importance on that occasion, cast on him, as he passed, the most furious and menacing looks, while fire, at the same time, seemed to flash from his eyes. His intention, no doubt, was to look big in the eyes of Cicero, and strike him at once with astonishment and terrour. It is impossible to render Cicero's words, with any effect, into English. *Et adspexit me* (says he) *illis quidem oculis, quibus tum solebat, cùm omnia omnibus minabatur. Movet me quippe lumen curiæ!* Orat. pro Mil. XII. Page 33.

(100.) Ascon. Pedian. in Argument. Milon.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 726. Edit. Toll. This whole tumult, Dion Cassius says, on the part of the populace, bore no resemblance to the generality of outrages, which they had at other times committed. In fact, it was nothing like a headlong, sudden impulse, but conducted with visible regularity. So determined did they seem to complete their work, that about three o'clock in the afternoon (i. e. about the ninth hour), refreshments were actually brought to the Forum, of which all partook, as a sort of funeral repast, beside the smoking ruins. *Οὕτω τε ἐχ ὁρμῆ τινι (οἷά πε τὲς ὄχλες ἐξαπιναίω παταλαμβάνει) ἀλλ' ἐπ προαιρέσεως αὐτὸ ἔπραξαν. ὥστε, καὶ τὴν ἐννάτην τὸ περίδειπνον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τυφομένε ἔτι τε βελευτηρίε, ποιῆσαι,* &c. L. XL. 49. Edit. Reimar.

(1.) Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 727. Edit. Toll.—Dion. Cass. ubi sup. So great was the general consternation, that no man durst appear, without arms, in the streets; the carrying of which was a practice unknown among the Romans, in time of peace.

(2.) Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 161. Edit. Stephan.

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(3.) PLUTARCH. in Pomp. p. 648. et in Caton. Minor. p. 782.—Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 161.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. pp. 727. 728. Edit. Toll. The form of this decree was, *Dent operam Consules ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat.* Sallust, in giving an account of the measures pursued by the government, when the Conspiracy of Catiline was on the eve of breaking out, explains the nature and extent of the powers thus conferred by the Senate. The Fathers, he says, passed a decree, unusual, except in cases of extraordinary emergency, requiring the Consuls "To take such measures as should preserve the Commonwealth from impending danger." By this ordinance, according to the Roman constitution, it is understood, that the Senate has power to convey, to the supreme magistrates, a temporary delegation of the whole authority of the state. Armed with this, the Consuls possess the privilege of raising new levies; of leading into the field the armies of the republic; of exercising an unlimited authority over the persons and property of the subjects, citizens as well as allies; and, in a word, of calling forth the whole energy of the government, civil and military, at their own discretion. But these exorbitant prerogatives are unknown; unless, as above, they are delegated by the Senate, or else have their origin in an order from the People. *Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negocio solet, Senatus decrevit, Darent operam Consules, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per Senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur: Exercitum parare; bellum gerere; coërcere omnibus modis socios atque cives; domi militiæque imperium, atque judicem summum habere: Aliter, sine populi jussu, nulli earum rerum Consuli jus est.* Bel. Catilin. XXX.

(4.) THIS was Quintus Hortensius, the celebrated orator. He flourished in the middle of the seventh century of the city, and was Consul, together with Cæcilius Metellus, A. U. C. 684. Until Cicero appeared, he was the first speaker in Rome; and the long rivalship of

these two eminent men did not hinder the greatest intimacy from sub- Page 34.
sisting between them. Cicero allows the extraordinary merit of Hortensius, whose genius, he says, even in early life, was like the fine productions of Phidias, requiring only to be seen, to command admiration. *Q. Hortensii admodum adolescentis ingenium, ut Phidiæ signum, simul adspectum et probatum est.* De Clar. Orator. LXIV. As an orator, he possessed, according to the same accurate judge, a fine flow of words, elegance of style, and fertility of invention; and these excellencies were the fruit, no less of indefatigable industry, than of uncommon talents. In his pleadings, Hortensius had no need of notes to assist his memory. He arranged his discourse with acuteness; seldom neglecting any topic that was calculated to enforce his own argument, or to refute that of his adversary. Add to this, that his voice was pleasing and harmonious, and his action eminently graceful; although the latter, perhaps, seemed more laboured and artificial than was requisite for the bar. *Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus; eaque erat cùm summo ingenio, tum exercitationibus consecutùs. Rem complectebatur memoriter, dividebat acutè; nec prætermittebat ferè quidquam, quod esset in causâ, aut ad confirmandum, aut ad refellendum. Vox canora et suavis; motus et gestus etiam plus artis habebat, quàm erat oratori satis.* De Clar. Orator. LXXXVIII. Hortensius was ridiculed by his contemporaries, and had the nickname of Dionysia, on account of his affected gestures (Aul. Gell. L. I. 5.); although it appears, that Æsopus and Roscius, the most remarkable actors on the Roman stage, attended his pleadings, in order to copy from his manner. See Val. Maxim. L. VIII. 10. ii.

It is certain, that this celebrated orator could speak much better than he could write *(dicebat melius quàm scripsit)*. He published several Orations, which seem to have been inferior to Cicero's; and left also some Poems, of which neither have come down to us.—A curious anecdote is preserved by the elder Seneca, concerning the tenaciousness of his memory; which I shall here subjoin, for the entertain

Page 34. ment of the reader. His friend, Sisenna, it seems, had expressed his doubts in regard to the extent of this faculty: On which Hortensius, in order to convince him, attended, during an entire day, a public auction of goods, undertaking to give an account of the whole transaction. He recapitulated the particulars relating to each article; the price of the commodity, the order in which it was put up, and the name of the purchaser; and appealed, at the same time, to the clerks of the sale, who vouched for a correctness so truly extraordinary. *Hortensius à Sisennâ provocatus, in auctione persedit diem totum, et omnes res, et pretia, et emptores, suo ordine recensuit; argentariis recognoscentibus ita, ut in nullo falleretur.* Sen. Rhet. Declam. L. I. in Procem.

As *Action* in public speaking has incidentally been mentioned, I shall here observe, for the benefit of the young student, that *actio*, among the Romans, did not by any means correspond in signification with the derivative word *action* with us. Action, in the Latin acceptation, when applied to the orator, meant every thing he had to acquire, except the mere composition of his discourse; that is, the management of his voice, the expression of his countenance, the gracefulness of his gestures, and, in a word, his whole manner and address. *Quæ motu corporis, quæ gestu, quæ vultu, quæ vocis conformatione, ac varietate moderanda est.* Cic. de Orat. L. I. 5. Cicero fairly considers it as the chief thing to be studied by the orator. Without the possession of this excellence, he declares, no man need hope, as a speaker, to rise to celebrity; while he, on the other hand, who skilfully displays it, may, with inferior talents, surpass the most transcendent genius. When Demosthenes was asked what he considered as the first quality in an orator, he at once replied, Action. When questioned as to the second, he said, Action: And being desired to name the third quality, he still gave the same answer. *Actio, inquam, in dicendo una dominatur: Sine hac, summus orator esse in numero nullo potest; mediocris, hac instructus, summos sæpe superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cùm rogaretur, quid in dicen-*

do esset primum; huic secundas, huic tertias. De Orat. L. III. 56. Page 35. See also L. I. 5.—De Clar. Orator. XXXVIII.—Orat. ad Brut. XVII.

(5.) Asconius Pedianus, in order to enable him to illustrate the Orations of Cicero, had examined, with great diligence, the journals of the Senate *(Acta Diurna)* during that period. In the course of this investigation, as he tells us, he found that the Senate, on the first before the Kalends of March, had canvassed the business of Clodius's murder, and all the subsequent atrocities, being disposed to adopt the motion of Hortensius, as I have stated it in the text, and to grant an extraordinary commission for the trials *(Ut extra ordinem quæreretur)*. Plancus, the day following, in giving an account to the people of what had passed, describes to them the method, to which Sallust and himself had had recourse, in order to escape the snare subtly laid for them by Hortensius; and, on this occasion, Asconius has preserved a passage of Plancus's original speech. *Q. Hortensium dixisse* (says that active Tribune to the people), *ut extra ordinem quæreretur: Apud quæsitorem æstimare futurum, ut, cùm pusillum edisset dulcedinis, largiter acerbitatis devoraret. Adversus hominem ingeniosum ingenio usi sumus. Invenimus Fusium, qui diceret, divideret sententiam: Reliquæ parti ego et Sallustius intercessimus.* Frag. Orat. M. Planc. ap. Ascon. in Milon. VI. By consulting this useful Scholiast on the same Section of the Oration for Milo, the classical reader will find a minute account of what was termed *Dividere sententiam* in the Roman Senate. See farther illustrations and examples of the practice, Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. I. 2.—Sen. Epist. XXI. De Vit. Beat. IV.—Plin. Epist. L. VIII. 14. &c.

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(6.) Ascon. Pedian. Argument. in Cic. Milon. See also Page 30. anteh. The two nephews of Clodius, here mentioned, were young

Page 35. men, both named Appius Claudius, sons to Caius Claudius, Clodius's brother. The one or the other, we find, is commended by Cicero. See Epist. ad Fam. L. XI. 22.

(7) CRIMINAL trials, among the Romans, were usually carried on before the People, or before the Prætor, assisted, on grand occasions, by a council of jurymen *(Judices)*. See Adam's Rom. Antiq. pp. 126. 253—258. But, in very flagrant cases, such as the trial of Milo, the Senate appointed an Inquisitor *(Quæsitor)*, or extraordinary Judge, and sometimes two, and even three, to preside in court: Accordingly we find, that Domitius Ænobardus here filled that high office. Ascon Pedian. Argument. in Cic. Milon. See also Orat. pro Mil. VIII. In regard to the ordinary judges or jurymen, their number varied, at different periods, from 300 to 600 (Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 259.); but, on Milo's trial, they seem not to have exceeded fifty-one. See Ascon. Pedian. in Cic. Milon. XXXV. By the law, now framed by Pompey, several useful regulations were introduced into the courts. The manner of taking the evidence, the length of time permitted to the advocates to speak, &c., were all prescribed by the same enactment. Lest the orators should prove tedious in their pleadings *(Ne in immensum evagarentur)*, they were, from this time, according to the Greek fashion (Cic. de Orat. L. III. 34.), obliged to speak by an hour-glass *(Ut ad clepsydram dicerent)*. Two hours, by the Pompeian law, were allowed to the accuser and his counsel, to bring forward the charge, and no more than three to the defendant. This innovation is deplored by Tacitus or Quintilian, in the Dialogue concerning Oratory, as the first step towards its ruin among the Romans. For, though all causes (says the author of that elegant piece), were still left to be tried according to law, in the Forum, and before the Prætor, yet a fatal blow was given to true eloquence, and reins, as it were, imposed on its free and ancient course. *Primus, tertio Consulatu, Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit, imposuitque veluti frænos eloquentiæ;*

ita tamen, ut omnia in Foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud Prætores gererentur. Dialog. de Orator. XXXVIII. Page 35.

The Domitius Ænobarbus, or Ahenobarbus, mentioned above, as High-Inquisitor on the trial, was by prænomen Lucius, and son to Cnæus Domitius Ænobarbus, who was Censor, together with Marcus Crassus, the celebrated orator. It was he, on whom the latter, in one of the frequent altercations which he had with his colleague, made the pointed remark, that there was nothing wonderful in his having a beard of brass, when he had both a countenance of iron, and a heart of lead. *Non esse mirandùm quòd æneam barbam haberet, cui os ferreum, cor plumbeum esset.* Sueton. in Neron. II.

Lucius Domitius was Consul A. U. C. 699, together with Appius Claudius Pulcher. He was, from what we can learn, a man of a proud, inconstant, and cruel disposition, and one of Cæsar's earliest, and most inveterate opponents. He seems to have been a friend of Cicero's, who ranks him among the orators of his time (De Clar. Orator. LXXVII.), but does not greatly commend him in other parts of his writings. According to Lucan and Suetonius, he fell at the battle of Pharsalia. Appian, indeed, says otherwise; but the former account is confirmed by Cæsar himself See De Bel. Civil. L. III. 99. His great grandson Cnæus Domitius Ænobarbus was a man of execrable character. He married Agrippina, daughter to Germanicus; and became the father of that monster in human shape, the emperor Nero. It is related of this Domitius, that when his friends came to congratulate him on the birth of the child, he rejected their compliments, and fairly declared his belief, that of himself and Agrippina nothing could be produced, but what was utterly detestable, and pernicious to the public. *Inter gratulationes amicorum, negavit quidquam ex se et Agrippinâ, nisi detestabile, et malo publico, nasci potuisse.* Sueton. in Neron. VI. Καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι, ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἄνδρα τίνα ἀγαθὸν ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ

Page 35. *καὶ ἐκ ταύτης γεννηθῆναι.* Dion. Cass. in Ner. (Epit. Xiphilin.) II. Edit. Stephan.

(8.) It is evident, both from Asconius and other authors, that Pompey threw the weight of his influence into the scale against Milo. By forged stories of an attempted assassination of himself, and affected terrours of a personal attack from the latter (Ascon. in Cic. Milon. XXV.), he drew together, under colour of self-defence, a vast military force; but, in fact, it was to serve a political purpose, and to overawe the adverse faction. Cicero, in his pleading for Milo, saw through the thin disguise of Pompey's fears, and dreaded the effect of his prejudices. He fairly declared, in the hearing of the Consul, that it was no sense of guilt, no criminality in regard to the death of Clodius, but Pompey's suspicions alone, that his friend had any just cause to apprehend. *Quòd si tamen metuitur etiam nunc Milo, non hoc jam Clodianum crimen timemus, sed tuas, Cn. Pompeii (te enim jam appello eâ voce, ut me audire possis), tuas, tuas, inquam, suspiciones perhorrescimus.* Orat. pro Mil. XXV. In a tone of masterly raillery, he had just before (Sect. XXIV.), exposed the futility of those reports of violence and murder, which were so anxiously spread abroad. He then proceeds to show how terrific, indeed, the name of his client must be, when it could disturb the quiet of a great general, and a supreme magistrate, supported, as he was, by the bands of the Capitol, and the whole force of Italy, and at the head of the armies of the republic. *Si Milonem times, si hunc de tuâ vitâ nefariè aut nunc cogitare, aut molitum aliquando aliquid putas; si Italiæ delectus, ut nonnulli conquisitores tui dictitant; si hæc arma, si Capitolinæ cohortes, si excubiæ, si vigiliæ, si delecta juventus, quæ tuum corpus domumque custodit, contra Milonis impetum armata est, atque illa omnia in hunc unum instituta, parata, intenta sunt; magna in hoc certè vis, et incredibilis animus, et non unius viri vires atque opes indicantur, si quidem in hunc unum et præstantissimum dux electus, et tota respublica armata est.* Id. ibid.

(9.) ASCON. PEDIAN. Argument. in Cic. Milon. Page 36.

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(10.) THE person here mentioned was Marcus Marcellus, one of the most distinguished orators, and scholars of his time. He was at the head of the illustrious family of the Marcelli, and held the Consulship, A. U. C. 702, together with Servius Sulpicius. Being an intimate friend of Pompey, as well as of Cicero, and one of Cæsar's most violent opponents, he withdrew, after the battle of Pharsalia, to Mitylene, where he lived in a dignified retirement, amidst the most celebrated scholars, and philosophers of Greece. At the intercession of the Senate, Cæsar pardoned him, a circumstance that gave occasion to Cicero's eloquent speech of thanks to the conqueror; which, for elegance of diction, and politeness of compliment, is perhaps superior to any thing extant of antiquity. See Cic. de Clar. Orator. LXXI.—Orat. pro Marcel.—Epist. ad Fam. L. IV. 7. 8. 9. 10.—Plutarch. in Vit. Pomp.

Marcellus had formed himself in a peculiar manner for the bar. He was always a most ardent admirer, and imitator of Cicero; and of all his contemporaries (as Cicero makes Brutus say), the orator who approached the nearest to him in excellence. Marcellus's manner of speaking, we are told, was correct, elegant, and copious; with a melodiousness of voice, and a dignity of action, that gave grace and lustre to every thing he said. *Quid censes, inquit (Brutus), nisi id, quòd habiturus es similem tui? . . Itaque et lectis utitur verbis et frequentibus, et splendore vocis, et dignitate motûs, fit speciosum et illustre quod dicitur.* De Clar. Orator. LXXI. Marcellus was basely assassinated, by his client and companion, Magius Chilo, at Athens, while on his way back to Rome. See an account of his death, sent to Cicero, by their mutual friend Sulpicius. Epist. ad Fam. L. IV. 12. His son, Caius Marcellus, married Octavia, sister to Augustus; and the fruit of the marriage, a son, named Marcus after

Page 37. his grandfather, was that accomplished, and promising youth, the delight of the Roman people, whom his uncle had destined for his successor in the empire, and whose untimely death is deplored, in the pathetic tribute paid, by Virgil, to his memory:

> Nec puer Iliacâ quisquam de gente Latinos
> In tantum spe tollet avos; nec Romula quondam
> Ullo se tantùm tellus jactabit alumno.
> Heu pietas! heu prisca fides! invictaque bello
> Dextera! . . . . . .
> Heu miserande puer! si quâ fata aspera rumpas,
> Tu MARCELLUS eris.
>
> Æneid. L. VI. 875, &c

Virgil, on reciting the verses to Octavia, obtained, from that disconsolate princess, a reward of 10,000 Sesterces for each; and the verses being in all thirty-two (i. e. from v. 854 to 886), the sum amounted to about L. 2500. Sterling. Donat. in Vit. Virgil. See further concerning young Marcellus, Sen. Consol. ad Marciam, II. The famous Theatre of Marcellus, at Rome, was built by Augustus, in honour of his memory. See Sueton. August. XXIX. XLIII.—Tacit. Annal. L. III. 64.—Dion. Cass. L. LIV. 26, &c.

(11.) ASCON. PEDIAN. Argument. Cic. Milon.

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(12.) *INIMICISSIMAS conciones de Milone habebant.* Ascon. Pedian. Argument. Cic. Milon.

(13.) *DIXERUNT manu Milonis occisum esse Clodium, concilio verò majoris alicujus.* Ascon. Pedian. in Cic. Milon. XVIII. Cicero, with just indignation, mentions this suspicion, in his defence of Milo. *Scitis, Judices, fuisse qui dicerent, Milonis manu cædem esse*

factam, consilio verò majoris alicujus. Videlicet me latronem ac sicarium abjecti homines et perditi describebant! Orat. pro Mil. XVIII. Page 38.

(14.) *Erat maxima pars multitudinis infensa non solùm Miloni, sed ipsi etiam, propter invisum patrocinium, Ciceroni.* Ascon. Pedian. Argument. Cic. Milon. He, however, with great magnanimity, and firmness of attachment to Milo, says Asconius, preferred the glory of defending his friend, to the loss of popularity, the chance of Pompey's displeasure, and even the danger of an impeachment, and of personal violence, that seemed to threaten him. *Tanta tamen constantia ac fides fuit Ciceronis, ut non populi à se alienatione, non Cn. Pompeii suspicionibus, non periculi futuri metu, si sibi dies ad populum diceretur, non armis, quæ palam in Milonem sumpta erant, deterreri potuerit à defensione ejus.* Argument. in Milon.

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(15.) See Notes 10. 56. 57. anteh.

(16.) There are many other inconsistencies, in the two antient Declamations; but I mention the instances, specified in the text, as among the most striking, referring the reader to the pieces themselves at large. They are usually subjoined to the works both of Cicero and Sallust. The circumstance of the Declaimer's supposing Cicero's daughter Tullia to have survived Cæsar, is not less absurd, although it is less generally known, than the rest. The proof of its absurdity is perfectly clear, as the reader will see, by examining Cicero's Letters to Atticus, who is informed by his friend, that Cæsar, on the death of Tullia, wrote a polite, and consolatory epistle to her father, dated from Seville (Hispalis) in Spain, A. U. C. 708. See Epist. ad Attic. L. XIII. 20.

(17.) Of these two motives for drawing from the antient Decla-

Page 39. mations, malevolence, and the love of anecdote, I do not scruple to attribute the former to Le Clerc, whose illiberality in regard to Sallust is unworthy of a scholar, and must be disgusting to every reader of taste and candour. See the grossness of his conduct already stated, as well as his unwilling acknowledgment of the fictitious nature of the two pieces, Notes 10. 11. anteh. M. Meisner, one of our author's latest biographers, has servilely copied the errours of Le Clerc, and even fallen into others peculiar to himself. See Note 57. anteh. As for the President De Brosses, he is sufficiently liberal; but, seduced by a fondness for anecdote, he, at one and the same time, introduces Cicero and Sallust openly abusing each other, in his Text, on the authority of the Declamations, and then proves, by an elaborate, and very excellent Note, how totally destitute both those pieces are of all pretensions to authenticity!!! See Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. pp. 343. 344.

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(18.) It must be acknowledged, that M. de Brosses is exempt from this censure. The figure made by Sallust on Milo's trial he certainly has noticed with a laudable diligence. But as a writer, who undertakes the life of the historian, he runs into the opposite extreme. He presents, to the reader, rather a history of Roman affairs, during a part of the seventh and eighth centuries of the city, than the biography of a single individual, who is thereby lost and overshadowed, amidst a crowd of persons and events, brought forward to the view.—In biographical narratives, it seems an indispensable law, that the person, whose life is selected for the subject, should, as seldom as possible, be superseded, as the *principal* figure in the piece.

(19.) Ascon Pedian. in Ciceron. Milon. Argument.

(20.) *Circa horam decimam, T. Munacius pro concione populum*

adhortatus est, ut posterâ die frequens adesset, et elabi Milonem non pateretur, judiciumque et dolorem suum ostenderet. Ascon. Pedian. in Ciceron. Milon. Argument. Page 40.

(21.) Ascon. Pedian. in Ciceron. Milon.—Dion. Cass. L. XL. pp. 162. 163.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 729. Edit. Toll.—Plutarch. in Vit. Ciceron. p. 878. Edit. Francof.

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(22.) Ascon. Pedian. in Ciceron. Milon. Argument. This was Mark Antony, afterwards so well known as one of the second Triumvirate, on the death of Julius Cæsar, together with Augustus and Lepidus. He was son to Marcus Antonius, surnamed Cretensis, and grandson to the celebrated orator of the same name. Antony entertained an enmity to Cicero, which was early and deep-rooted, on account of his having put to death Cornelius Lentulus, one of the ringleaders in Catiline's conspiracy, and who had married Julia, the mother of the Triumvir (Plutarch. in Anton. p. 916.). His vengeance was at length wreaked against Cicero, who, about eight years after Milo's trial, was proscribed, and put to death by his order, and the head fixed upon the Rostra, as a spectacle to the people. Vell. Paterc. L. II. 66.—Liv. Fragment. ap. Sen. Suasor. VII.—Val. Maxim. L. V. 3.—Flor. L. IV. 6.—Plutarch. in Ciceron. pp. 884. 885.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. IV. pp. 968. 969. Edit. Toll.—Dion. Cass. L. XLVII. p. 378. After the death of Clodius, Antony married his widow Fulvia, a woman of a temper the most haughty, masculine, and capricious, and by whom he was completely governed. Plutarch. in Anton. p. 920. His fondness for Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, is well known, as well as his dissolute and licentious manners, which are recorded in indelible characters, in the Philippics of Cicero. At the battle of Pharsalia, where Cæsar vanquished Pompey, Antony commanded the left wing of the victorious army. He also assisted

Page 40. Augustus in that of Philippi, gained against Cæsar's murderers; and was, in the end, together with Cleopatra, defeated by Augustus, in the naval engagement off Actium, A. U. C. 722, which left his rival master of the Roman world. See Plutarch. in Vit. Anton.—Sueton. in August. &c. &c.

It is difficult to decide, whether boldness and intrepidity, or the love of luxury and extravagance, were the features most predominant in the character of Mark Antony. He is said even to have composed a treatise in praise of drunkenness. Of his enormous extravagance, I shall mention a single example. During his stay with Cleopatra in Egypt, a dispute arose between the lovers, which was able to give the most sumptuous, and costly entertainment. The luxurious princess challenged Antony to provide a supper, of which the fair expence should amount to four-score thousand pounds *(centies sestertium*; accurately L.80,729 : 3 : 4 Sterling); and Munacius Plancus, the same who had been Sallust's colleague in the Tribuneship, was chosen umpire of the contest *(Sponsione contendit dignus, sculnâ Munacio Planco, qui tam honesti certaminis arbiter electus est)*. The first essay was made by Antony, and it was profuse and magnificent beyond description. On the following evening, the Queen of Egypt tried her ingenuity; when, as the last course, she called for a goblet, and taking from her ear one of two oriental pearls, each of which was valued at the sum in question, she dissolved it in vinegar, and presented it to her lover, mingled with the wine. She was proceeding next to dissolve the second; but was forcibly restrained by the astonished Plancus, who loudly declared her to have obtained the victory. The elder Pliny and Macrobius, who both mention the story, declare the remaining pearl, which thus narrowly escaped, to have been the largest, and most beautiful in the world *(unio maximus fuit per omne ævum)*. It was afterwards brought to Rome; where, being cut in two, *one half* of the expence of a supper of Antony's supplied a pair of ear-rings to the statue of Venus, in the Pantheon. *Comitetur fama*

unionis ejus parem, captâ illâ tantæ quæstionis victrice reginâ, dissectum, ut esset in utrisque Veneris auribus, Romæ in Pantheo, dimidia eorum cœna. Plin. Hist. Natur. L. IX. 35. Notwithstanding of its being thus divided, the parts, says Macrobius, were still gems of most extraordinary magnitude *(monstruosæ magnitudinis margarita)*. See Saturnal. L. II. 14. pp. 370. 371. Edit. Gronov. Page 40.

(23.) The person here mentioned was Marcus Porcius Cato the younger, and surnamed of Utica, from the place of his death. In conformity to his notions of patriotism, he supported Milo, because he considered Clodius as the more dangerous citizen. In the commencement of the scrutiny concerning the murder, he had publicly appeared on the side of the latter; but he was now seated on the bench, as one of the *judices*, or jury, appointed for the trial.

As this great man has been already more than once mentioned, I take the opportunity of saying a few words on his character. – Cato was great-grandson to Cato the Censor, who flourished about the middle of the sixth century of the city. He was a firm patriot, a most inflexible republican, and an uniform supporter of a feeble and tottering constitution. Cato adopted, as his model, his illustrious ancestor the Censor; but he was far less virulent in his temper, and somewhat more conciliating in his manners. Eminent for temperance, fortitude, integrity, and the love of justice, he professed the Stoic philosophy; and the rigid lessons of the Porch he endeavoured to transfer (and he succeeded as far as it was possible to transfer them) into the practice of common life. To Pompey and Cæsar he was equally hostile, because they were hostile to civil liberty; although he, in the end, sided with Pompey, as with him who had the better cause. After the loss of the battle of Pharsalia, Cato took the command of the fleet. He afterwards retired to the African Province, and fortified himself in Utica; when, seeing it impossible to save the liberties of his country, he determined not to survive them, and put a period to his life. In

Page 40. this contest, says Lucan, in his quaint manner, the Gods favoured the worst side, and declared for Cæsar; but right and justice were on that of Cato;

Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.
Pharsal. L. I. 128;

a beautiful sentiment (with deference to Bouhours and the critics), and without much hyperbole, as applied to so extraordinary a man. Virgil, probably, on a like occasion, would have avoided the sort of point which it contains.

Of Cato it may be truly said, that he was *Justitiæ cultor, rigidi servator honesti.* If he was not the greatest, he was, without doubt, the most virtuous citizen in Rome. But his virtues appeared at least two centuries too late in the history of the republic. They were those of the age of Curius and Fabricius, not of that of Cæsar and Pompey. Virgil esteemed him worthy to be set over the just and pious, as one of the judges of Elysium; and an elegant historian declares, that Cato reached the summit of human excellence; in his conduct, no less than in his temper, approaching nearer to the divine, than to mortal nature. *Homo virtuti simillimus, et per omnia ingenio Diis quàm hominibus propior.* Vel. Paterc. L. II. 35. Upon the whole, Lucan delivers the best encomium, that ever has been pronounced, on the rigid sect of the Stoics, and the disinterested character of its pupil:

Hi mores, hæc duri immota Catonis
Secta fuit; servare modum, finemque tenere,
Naturamque sequi, patriæque impendere vitam;
Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
Pharsal. L. II. 380.

(24.) This was Faustus Sylla, son to Sylla the Dictator. He married a daughter of Pompey's; and was the person commissioned

to take charge of rebuilding the Senate-house, after it was burnt down, during the riots that ensued on Clodius's assassination. In the civil wars, he followed the fortunes of his father-in-law. After the battle of Pharsalia, he attached himself to Cato: But, on falling into the hands of the conqueror in Africa, he was put to death by his order, together with Afranius and Lucius Cæsar. Liv. Epit. CXIV. See Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 161. XLII. p. 215. XLIII. pp. 246. 247. Edit. Stephan.—Plutarch. in Vit. Cæs.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 801. Edit. Toll. This is the same Sylla, of whom Plutarch, in another place, tells the story, when a boy; that being at play with young Cassius (afterwards one of the conspirators against Cæsar, and whose hatred to despotism was early, as it was implacable), he began, among their companions, to boast of the greatness and unlimited power of his father; when Cassius rose in a fury, and struck him. The friends and tutors of Sylla would have taken it upon themselves to punish the insult: But Pompey prevented it; and, sending for the boys, undertook himself to investigate the cause of their quarrel. Come, Faustus, cried the young republican, repeat, if you dare, before Pompey, the same expressions which provoked my indignation, and I will, without scruple, make you the same return. *Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει τῇ Κασσίᾳ δυσμένεια τις καὶ χαλεπότης πρὸς τὸ γένος τῶν τυράννων, ὡς ἐδήλωσεν ἔτι παῖς ὤν, βαδίζων εἰς ταὐτὸ τῷ τῇ Σύλλα παιδὶ, Φαύστῳ, διδασκαλεῖον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παισὶ μεγαληγορῶν, τὴν τῆ πατρὸς ἐπήνει μοναρχίαν· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἐπαναστὰς κονδύλες ἐνέτριβεν αὐτῷ. βελομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων τῇ Φαύστε καὶ οἰκείων ἐπεξιέναι καὶ δικάζεσθαι, Πομπήϊος ἐκώλυσε, καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ταὐτὸ τὲς παῖδας ἀμφοτέρες, ἀνέκρινε περὶ τῆ πράγματος. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται τὸν Κάσσιον εἰπεῖν· Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Φαῦστε, τόλμησον ἐναντίον τέτε φθέγξασθαι τὸν λόγον ἐκεῖνον, ἐφ' ᾧ παρωξύνθην, ἵνα σῆ πάλιν ἐγὼ συντρίψω τὸ στόμα.* In Brut. IX. Edit. Reiske.—See also Val. Max. L. III. 1. iii.

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(25.) Marcus Callidius was a distinguished orator, in the time

Page 40. of Julius Cæsar; the scholar of Apollodorus, according to Eusebius; and who died during the civil wars. He appears never to have attained the Consulship; although he was Prætor about the time of the exile of Cicero, whose interest he very warmly espoused. Cæs. de Bel. Civil. L. I. 2.—Cic. Orat. post Red. in Senat. IX. Quintilian bestows upon him the praise of subtilty and acuteness (Inst. Orator. L. XII. 10. p. 895. Edit. Hack.); and, from the high strain of encomium, in which his oratorical character is represented by Cicero, we find, that he wanted nothing but a certain degree of interest and animation, to have rendered him a perfect speaker. See De Clar. Orator. LXXIX.

(26.) CICERO informs us, that it was about his time that the practice of employing more than one counsel, in the same cause, was first introduced at Rome; an innovation, suggested partly by the indolence of the advocates themselves, and partly by the opportunity it afforded them of acquiring, with a less expence of time and labour, a wider extent of influence among their clients. The practice, although it has been adopted by most modern nations, is unequivocally condemned by Cicero, as breaking into parts what can have effect only by its unity, and as creating unnecessary impediments to real eloquence. By throwing a defence, for example, into different hands, it exhibits the strange appearance of an argument, after it is fairly summed up by one speaker, being again opened anew, and the self-same ground gone over by another. If it be a task of difficulty, in a pleading of considerable length, to escape those contradictions and inconsistencies, to which even the best speaker, in his own argument, is liable, how greatly must that difficulty be increased, when we have to shape our ideas to those of him who has preceded us; when we have to tread in his footsteps, and be regulated by his authority? *Nihil vitiosiùs, quàm, cùm unum corpus debeat esse defensionis, nasci de integro causam, cùm sit ab altero perorata . . Cùm*

autem difficile sit, in longâ oratione, non aliquando aliquid ita dicere, ut sibi ipse non conveniat, quantò difficiliùs cavere, ne quid dicas, quod non conveniat ejus orationi, qui ante te dixerit? De Clar. Orator. LVII. I know not whether the barrister of modern times, whose principal object is certainly not patronage or fame, will asquiesce in the decision of an orator, who displayed a diligence equal to his comprehensive genius, and whose first ambition was the improvement of an art, which he himself had carried to such unrivalled perfection. Page 41.

(27.) PLUTARCH. in Ciceron. p. 878.—Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 163. Edit. Stephan.

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(28.) "Ωστε τῶν μὲν παρεσκευασμένων μηδὲν εἰπεῖν, βραχὺ δέ τι καὶ τεθνηκὸς χαλεπῶς φθεγξάμενος, ἀγαπητῶς μεταστῆναι. Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 163. Edit. Stephan.—See also Plutarch. in Ciceron. p. 878. and Ascon. Pedian. Argument. in Ciceron. Milon. fin. versus. Dr Middleton asserts, in his life of Cicero, that "he had spirit enough to go through his speech of three hours" (Vol. II. p. 152. 8vo. edit.); but of such an exertion we have no evidence. Dion Cassius, in the passage just now quoted, expressly says, that the speech pronounced in the Forum was both short and inanimate; and the account given by Plutarch tends to confirm the same sentiment. Asconius, who tells the story with the greatest partiality to Cicero, only says, *Cùm inciperet dicere, exceptus est acclamatione Clodianorum . . itaque non eâ quâ solitus erat, constantiâ dixit.* Argument. in Milon. sub fin.

(29.) *IGNIS et aquæ interdictio.* This was the judicial language, in which the punishment of exile was expressed among the Romans. So jealous were they of all the rights, whether public or private, of a citizen, that it was among the fundamental laws of the state, that no man, against his will, could, by any means, be deprived of the free-

Page 41. dom of the city. *Scilicet hoc juris à majoribus proditum est, ut nemo civis Romanus aut libertatem, aut civitatem possit amittere, nisi ipse auctor factus sit.. Civitatem verò nemo unquam ullo populi jussu amittet invitus.* Cic. pro Dom. suâ ad Pontif. XXIX. If a citizen, for some crime, was to be punished by the deprivation of his rights, a legal fiction was constantly resorted to. The culprit was prohibited the use of fire and water: His estate was forfeited; and, immediately on this sentence being pronounced, he withdrew, for refuge, to foreign parts, in order, as it were, to escape the severities of legal vengeance. Thus, his right of citizenship seemed to be voluntarily relinquished, not forcibly taken away. For as, by the constitution, no individual could, at one and the same time, be a denizen of Rome, and of any other country, so he was said, on going into exile, to have made an exchange of the first, for the last-mentioned character. *Nullâ in lege nostrâ reperietur, maleficium ullum exilio esse multatum. Sed cùm homines vincula, neces, ignominiasque vitant, quæ sunt legibus constitutæ, confugiunt, quasi ad aram, in exilium: Qui, si in civitate legis vim subire vellent, non priùs civitatem, quàm vitam amitterent: Quia nolunt, non adimitur his civitas, sed ab his relinquitur atque deponitur. Nam, cùm, ex nostro jure, duarum civitatum nemo esse possit, tum amittitur hæc civitas denique, cùm is, qui profugit, receptus est in exilium, hoc est, in aliam civitatem.* Cic. Orat. pro Cæcin. XXXIV. In consonance to the same idea, exile was named φυγὴ by the Greeks.

Two new forms of banishment, more direct in their operation, were afterwards introduced by Augustus, namely Deportation and Relegation *(Deportatio et Relegatio)*. By the former, the condemned person, being deprived of his rights and fortune, was exiled to a specific place, and had not the liberty of going where he inclined. By the latter, the place of banishment was likewise pointed out, but the deprivation of rights, and the loss of his fortune, were not understood to ensue. See Fest. p. 172, Fest. Pomp. p. 401, and Isidor. Orig.

L. V. 27. Edit. Gothofred.—Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 66. and 273. Page 41.
Ovid's mysterious exile to Pontus, for example, which he continued to deplore with more eloquence than firmness, came under the description of the *relegatio*, as we find him describing it, in one of his numerous lamentations, to Augustus, on the subject:

Ira quidem moderata tua est, vitamque dedisti:
Nec mihi jus civis, nec mihi nomen abest.
Nec mea concessa est aliis fortuna; nec exsul
Edicti verbis nominor ipse tui.
Omniaque hæc timui, quia me meruisse videbam;
Sed tua peccato lenior ira meo est.
Arva relegatum jussisti visere Ponti,
Et Scythicum profugâ findere puppe fretum.

Trist. L. V. Eleg. 2. v. 55.

See also L. II. v. 137. Besides these various modes, persons were, sometimes, simply banished, for a limited time, out of Italy (*Iis Italiâ interdictum*). See Plin. Epist. L. III. 9.

(30.) *Milonem reum non magis invidia facti, quàm Pompeii damnavit voluntas.* Vell. Paterc. L. II. 47.

(31.) Plutarch. in Ciceron. p. 878. It was usual, among the Romans, for persons indicted for any crime, to lay aside their ordinary dress, to let their beards grow, and put on mourning (Cic. in Verr. I. 58.); or, as some think, a sordid, i.e. an old, or ragged dress. See Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 256. In this garb they went about the city, sometimes attended by their friends, who, out of compliment, put on the same dress (Cic. Orat. pro Sext. XIV.); and thus, likewise, they commonly appeared in court, in order to excite the compassion of their fellow citizens. When Cicero was attacked by the intrigues of Clodius, about seven years before, and soon after, in consequence, driven into exile, not only the knights, and many of the young nobi-

Page 41. lity, but the whole Senate, changed their dress on his account: (*Pro me Senatus, hominumque viginti millia, vestem mutaverunt.* Orat. post Red. ad Quirit. III. See also Plutarch. in Ciceron. p. 876.—Dion. Cass. L. XXXVIII. pp. 75. 76.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 721. Edit. Toll.) And he bitterly complains, that an edict of the Consuls was issued, for the purpose of prohibiting so honourable a testimony of his innocence. See Orat. pro Sext. XI. XII. XIV. In Pison. VIII. Post Red. in Senat. VII.

(32.) In this celebrated pleading, the ground chosen by Cicero, was the supposition, strengthened by many probable circumstances, that it was Clodius, and not Milo, who formed the plan of assassinating his adversary, on the Appian way. To prove that important point, therefore, is the great object of the speech. The idea was first struck out by the Tribune Cælius (See Ascon. Pedian. Argument. in Cic. Milon.); and it was here enforced by Cicero, with every ornament of language, and ingenuity of illustration. His friend Brutus had advised him to rest the merits of Milo's defence on the service that he had rendered to the community, by ridding it of a pernicious citizen. The sentiment was consistent with the warm, and animated temper of Brutus; who, though he did not speak in the cause, amused himself with writing an exculpatory pleading upon that principle. He afterwards published the piece, and it existed in the days of Quintilian. Cicero's better judgment, however, rejected the idea. He frankly declared to Brutus, that such an argument could not be maintained, on any grounds of law or equity: For, how salutary soever it might be to point, against the flagitious, the censure of mankind; yet it did not from thence follow, that they could be put to death, without the semblance of justice, or the forms of trial. *Ciceroni id non placuit; quòd non qui bono publico damnari, idem etiam occidi indemnatus posset.* Ascon. Pedian. Argument. in Cic. Milon. fin. versus.

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(33.) Καὶ δὴ καὶ τοιόνδε τι περὶ αὐτῦ παραδέδοται· ὁ Μίλων τῷ λόγῳ πεμφθέντι οἱ ὑπ' αὐτῦ ἐντυχὼν, (ἐπεφυγάδευτο γὰρ) ἀνταπέστειλε, λέγων ὅτι ἐν τύχῃ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τὸ μὴ ταῦθ' ἑτω καὶ ἐν τῷ διπαστηρίῳ λεχθῆναι. ἐ γὰρ ἂν τοιαύτας ἐν τῇ Μασσαλίᾳ (ἐν ᾗ κατὰ φυγὴν ἦν) τρίγλας ἐσθίειν, εἴπερ τι τοιῦτον ἀπελελόγητο. Dion. Cass. L. XL. 54. Edit. Reimar. Page 42. 43.

It is very certain, that the noble Oration for Milo, which we now possess, was not spoken by Cicero, on the trial, but is an after-effort, made in a season of leisure, when the business was at an end, and the orator's apprehensions had subsided. See Dion. Cass. ubi sup.— Ascon. Pedian. Argument. in Cic. Milon. fin. versus. The fact was, as we find from the context in Dion Cassius, that Milo was soon tired of his provincial residence, and was straining every nerve to procure a recal to Rome: His pleasantry, therefore, was designed as a reproof to Cicero; who, instead of exerting his influence towards that purpose (as Milo had done towards him, in similar circumstances), he only amused his friend, with an ostentatious display of his own talents.

(34.) *Postea . . Sallustius in suspicione fuit in gratiam redisse cum Milone ac Cicerone.* Ascon. Pedian. Argument. in Mil.

(35.) *Elegantia verborum Latinorum, etiam si orator non sis, et sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est.* Cic. de Clar. Orator. LXXV. *Quod idem de C. Cœlio dixerim, industriam in eo summam fuisse, summasque virtutes; eloquentiæ tantùm, quod esset in rebus privatis, amicis ejus, in republicâ, ipsius dignitate satis.* Id. XLV. See also Id. XXXVIII.

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(36.) *Quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis, cum delectatione aculeos etiam reliquit, in animis eorum à quibus esset auditus.* Cic. de

Page 44. Clar. Orator. IX. The verses of Eupolis, to which Cicero alludes, we find, are the following, as they are preserved, by the younger Pliny, in one of his Letters to his friend Tacitus:

. . . . πρὸς δὲ γ' αὐτῇ τῷ τάχει,
Πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθητο τοῖσι χείλεσιν;
Οὕτως ἐκήλει, καὶ μόνος πῶν ῥητόρων
Τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλιπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.
Epist. L. I. 20.

(37.) The works that are chiefly to be regretted, in regard to this period of the Roman history, are those of Varro, Sisenna, Hortensius, Sallust, Atticus, and Livy; and they probably contained much curious information, with which we are unacquainted. Whether any thing effectual will be done to recover them, by the present meritorious attempts to *evolve* the manuscripts obtained from Herculaneum and Pompeii, time alone can ascertain. It is melancholy to reflect, that, while so many monuments of Greek, as well as Roman genius have perished, such works, for example, as *Apicius's Art of Cookery*, and *Achilles Tatius on the Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe*, should yet have the fortune to survive.

(38.) *Cum Sallustius, exacto Tribunatûs tempore, privatus ageret.* Cleric. Vit. Sallust.

(39.) See Second Essay, on Sallust's Writings, and Literary character.

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(40.) Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. VII. 2.—Ascon. Pedian. in Cic. Milon. XXXV. As soon as the Tribuneship of Rufus and Plancus expired, they were severally impeached, for the violences they had committed

while in office; the former at the instance of Cælius, and the latter Page 45.
by Cicero himself. This was the only time, except in the case of Verres, the well-known governor of Sicily, that Cicero acted the part of an accuser; and he derived great honour from both. In the present instance, he had particular cause to be incensed, on account of personal injuries. Plancus depended on being protected by Pompey, who had himself undertaken to plead his cause, before judges of his own appointing (Plutarch. in Pomp. p. 649. Edit. Francof.): But, by Cicero's vigour in conducting the prosecution, the culprit was condemned, by the unanimous suffrage of the bench. *(Plancus . . qui omnibus sententiis, maximo vestro plausu, condemnatus.* Cic. Philip. VI. 4.). It is on this occasion, that, in a letter to his friend Marius, he bids him heartily rejoice at what he calls "a great victory," considering, he says, the illustrious patronage which Plancus enjoyed, and the extraordinary efforts that were made to save him. The truth is, adds he, I had sufficient cause to hate this fellow more cordially, than even Clodius himself. To Clodius, my hostility was of long standing, and I openly attacked him: But Plancus added ingratitude to animosity; for I had successfully defended him, on a former occasion. *Quamobrem valde jubeo gaudere te. Magna res gesta est . . contra incredibilem contentionem clarissimi et potentissimi viri. Postremò, oderam multò pejùs hunc, quàm illum ipsum Clodium. Illum enim oppugnâram, hunc defenderam.* Epist. ad Fam. L. VII. 2.

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(41.) EVERY five years, the whole Roman People were reviewed, and an account of their numbers and fortune was taken by the Censors, two magistrates appointed for that purpose. See Liv. and Fest. *Censor, ad cujus censionem, id est, arbitrium, censeretur populus.* Varr. de Ling. Lat. L. IV. 14. Together with this *census*, or inspection of the people, these magistrates also had the charge of watching over their morals, besides several other occupations of a secondary kind,

Page 45. such as, the care of the temples, the treasury, &c., of which See an ample account, in Cic. de Legib. L. III. 3. It was their duty, likewise, to review the Senate, and the Equestrian order, supplying the vacancies, and degrading the members of either, according as they thought fit, and always with a most despotic authority. Liv. L. XXXIX. 42.—Cic. Orat. pro Cluent. XLIII. XLIV. In cases where expulsion from the Senate took place, it was sometimes the practice to assign a cause in writing: These were often unfounded or frivolous; and the Censorian power was thus converted into an engine of personal pique, or political oppression. In inflicting any reprehension, the concurrence of both the Censors was requisite: If the one resisted, the vengeance of his colleague remained without effect. Cic. ubi sup.—Liv. L. XL. 51. Their power, however, did not extend to crimes punishable by law. As Cicero says, it was disgraceful, only; it touched the offender's rank and character (i. e. *Ignomina tantùm*); so that, in his time, it was little regarded, having scarcely any other effect, than to put a man to the blush for his irregularities *(Nihil ferè damnato afferebat, præter ruborem)*. Under the Emperors, the office of Censor was abolished, as useless in a despotic government. Augustus, indeed, like his predecessor Cæsar, was invested with it (Dion. Cass. L. LIII. p. 582. Edit. Xyland. —Sueton. in August. XXVII.). He had the splendid title of *Magister Morum:* And Horace, on this account, in the fine Epistle which he addresses to the Emperor, does not fail to remind him of the weight and importance of his various occupations:

> Cùm tot sustineas, et tanta negotia, solus,
> Res Italas armis tuteris, *moribus* ornes,
> Legibus emendes; in publica commoda peccem,
> Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Cæsar.
>
> Epist. L. II. 1. Init.

But the empty title was, in general, declined or neglected by succeed-

ing princes. See Rosin. Antiquitat. L. VII. 10.—Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 133. Page 45.

(42.) APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER was at the head of the Claudian family, and lineally descended from Appius Claudius Cæcus, who flourished in the time of the war with Pyrrhus, and laid the celebrated Appian way, which still bears his name, and extended from Rome to Capua. (Diodor. Sicul. L. XX. p. 773. Edit. Rhodoman. See likewise an account of the Claudian race, by Suetonius, in Vit. Tiber. I.—III.) He was brother, also, to Clodius, the same that was killed by Milo, and held the Consulship, together with Domitius Ænobardus, A. U. C. 699. At one time, he lived in habits of intimacy with Cicero, on account of their mutual connection with Brutus and Pompey; and thus we find that the Third Book of Cicero's Familiar Epistles is addressed to him. But no real friendship could subsist between two such opposite characters. During his government of Cilicia, in which he immediately preceded Cicero, Appius had greatly enriched himself, by exactions and oppression; and then quarrelled with his successor, because he had humanity and virtue enough to abstain from plundering the province. Appius, says the great orator, with his usual pleasantry, is a severe physician: For, by evacuations, and blood-letting, and every attenuating method, he has first reduced the province to the last extremity; and then he is greatly offended with me, who am now called in, for pursuing an opposite mode of treatment, and labouring, by lenitives, and restoratives, and other gentle means, to recruit its vigour. *Appius, cùm ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως provinciam curârit, sanguinem miserit, quidquid potuit detraxerit, mihi tradiderit enectam, προσαναπεφομένην eam à me non libenter videt . . Dissimilitudo meæ rationis offendit hominem.* Epist. ad Attic. L. VI. 1. He died, according to the prediction of the Delphic oracle, and before the battle of Pharsalia. Valer. Maxim. L. I. 8. x.—Lucan. Pharsal. L. V. 230.

Page 45. Appius was remarkable for being the only person of rank and consequence of his time, who really gave credit to Divination. He composed, it seems, a treatise on the subject, which he dedicated to Cicero (Epist. ad Fam. L. III. 4.—De Legib. L. II. 13.). The treatise was answered by his colleague Marcellus, and secretly laughed at by the whole college of Augurs. (De Divinat. L. I. 47. 58.—Tuscul. Disput. L. I. 6.) This pious belief, however, Appius could not boast of inheriting from his ancestors, of whom there was a remarkable one, Appius Claudius Pulcher, who was Consul with Junius Pullus, A. U. C. 504, or 505 (Cic. De Divinat. L. I. 16.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. XV. 1.), and commanded the Roman fleet off Sicily, during the first Punic war. Just before an engagement, which at that juncture took place, the Soothsayers were consulted in the usual manner; and a disastrous omen being observed, it was reported, by the keepers of the sacred chickens, to Appius. On going to take the augury, they said, the chickens unfortunately would not quit the coop, and refused their food. The admiral, without ceremony, ordered them to be thrown into the sea; irreverently observing, "That they might chuse to drink, perhaps, although they would not eat;" on which, it is added of course, that he was defeated by the enemy. *Publius Claudius, bello Punico primo, cùm prœlium navale committere vellet, auspiciaque, more majorum, petiisset, et pullarius non exire caveâ pullos nuntiâsset, abjici eos in marè jussit, dicens, Quia esse nolunt, bibant.* Valer. Maxim. L. I. 3. iii. See also Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. II. 3.—Polyb. L. I. 51.—Flor. L. II. 2. —Sueton. in Tiber. II.

Lucius Calphurnius Piso was Consul, A. U. C. 695, with A. Gabinius. This was the same year when Cicero was exiled from Rome, an event to which the former had greatly contributed. The character of this man was not unlike that of his colleague Appius, though still more vicious and contemptible. Affecting to be a philosopher, he wore the outward garb of austerity. He was severe in his looks, squalid in his dress, slow in his speech, and morose in his manners;

the very picture of antiquity, and the pattern of the old republic; Page 45. always surrounded with Greeks, to impress a notion of his learning; although they were kept about him, in reality, in order to administer to his vices. In a word, instead of a virtuous Cynic, which he wished to appear, he was a most dirty, sottish, and disgustful Epicurean. Cic. Orat. pro Sext. VIII. IX.—In Pison. X. XXVII.—Post Red. in Senat. VI. Piso was justly accused, and brought to trial, by Pub. Clodius, for plundering and oppressing the allies; and he escaped from punishment, only by the most abject, and humiliating demeanour. Val. Max. L. VIII. 1. vi. Notwithstanding all this, says Cicero, this man found his way to the offices of the state, from a preposterous notion, that was entertained, of his wisdom; from the splendour of his family, and the smoky images of his ancestors, which last he resembled in nothing but their complexion. *Obrepsit ad honores errore hominum, commendatione fumosarum imaginum, quarum simile habet nihil præter colorem.* Orat. In Pison. I.

Trusting to the influence of Cæsar, who had married his daughter Calphurnia, Piso very imprudently made an attack on Cicero, on returning from the Macedonian province; and this provoked the great orator to pronounce against him, the well-known invective speech, in the Senate, the severest, perhaps, that ever fell from any man, on the person, and talents, and whole life and conversation of Piso; and which, while the Roman language endures, will hand him down in his true colours. See this memorable speech, among the Orations of Cicero.—When the Censorian anathemas were to be denounced by men such as Appius and Piso, it is easy to conceive the impartiality with which they would be directed, and the reverence and respect with which they would be received.

(43.) The absolute power of the Censors continued in force down to the year 695, during the Tribuneship of Clodius, who procured the enactment of a law, that no man, whether Knight or Senator, should be

Page 45. degraded from his rank, or deprived of his office, until he had been first formally accused, and condemned by both the Censors. Τοῖς τε τιμηταῖς ἀπηγόρευσε μήτ' ἀπαλείφειν ἐκ τινὸς τέλεος, μήτ' ἀτιμάζειν μήδενα, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις παρ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι κριθεὶς ἁλοίη. Dion. Cass. L. XXXVIII. p. 73. Edit. Stephan. Also Ascon. Pedian. in Cic. Pison. IV. But this law was repealed by Metellus Scipio, A. U. C. 701, during his Consulship with Pompey. See Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 164.—and Ascon. Pedian.

(44.) Pompey's son had married one of his daughters, and the celebrated Marcus Brutus another, as we find by a letter, from Cicero, to Appius. Epist. ad Fam. L. III. 4.

(45.) Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 168. Edit. Stephan. The form generally used, in expelling a member from the Senate, was, that the Censors, in reading over the list, passed by the names of such as they meant to degrade. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 6. 7. But this did not render infamous the persons so expelled, as was the case, when condemnation, in form, took place before a court: For the ignominy could be removed by the next Censors; or the culprits might obtain, as Sallust afterwards did, certain offices, which again procured them admission. (Adam, Ibid.—Cic. Orat. pro Cluent. XLII.) Such, likewise, was the case with Caius Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the Consulship; and with Publius Lentulus, the same that was Prætor, at the time of Catiline's Conspiracy. See Dion. Cass. L. XXXVIII.

(46.) Asconius Pedianus's Life of Sallust is now lost: But in the Scholia on Horace, the charge in question is mentioned as a surmise, or report only, and not as an established fact; a circumstance which Le Clerc, in his account, is careful to conceal. The words are: *Fertur Sallustius tanto ardore insanuisse in libertinas, quanto mœchus in matronas: Quod cùm illi in Senatu à Censoribus objectum esset, re-*

spondit, se non matronarum, sed libertinarum sectatorem esse; quare ex Senatu ejectus est; quod ipse excusat in Catilinæ Bello. Satir. L. I. 2. Page 46.

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(47.) In one of Cicero's Familiar Epistles, from his friend Cœlius, there is an excellent account of what was thought, at Rome, of Appius's conduct as Censor. Do you know, says he (writing to Cicero in the country), that the Censor Appius is here doing wonders among us, about statues and pictures, about the extent of our acres, and the payment of our debts? He takes the exercise of the Censorship, I imagine, for soap or nitre; and hopes to make himself clean, by a most indefatigable use of it. But Appius, in my judgment, is somewhat deceived. Instead of throwing a veil over his own vices, he only more clearly exposes them, in their genuine nakedness. For heaven's sake, my dear friend, come speedily hither, and help us to laugh at the farce which is acting; Drusus gravely sitting in judgment on unnatural offenders against the Scantinian law, and Appius on the plunder of statues and pictures! You may trust me, the scene is truly curious. *Scis Appium Censorem hîc ostenta facere? de signis et tabulis, de agri modo, de ære alieno, acerrimè agere? Persuasum est ei Censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur. Nam sordes eluere vult; venas sibi omnes et viscera aperit. Curre, per Deos atque homines, et quàm primùm hæc risum veni: Legis Scantiniæ judicium apud Drusum fieri; Appium de tabulis et signis agere! Crede mihi, est properandum.* Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. VIII. 14.

(48.) Appius, says an intelligent historian, was hostile to Cæsar, and attached to Pompey; yet, with very opposite intentions, he rendered, to the former, most material service; for, by stigmatizing without mercy both Knights and Senators, he at once forced them into the arms of Cæsar. Piso, from the beginning, disapproved, and was

Page 47. desirous to escape the odium of these proceedings: But, observing the consequences to which they led, as well as the measures he must keep with the numerous friends, and adherents of his son-in-law, he adopted the plan of a prudent neutrality. To the fury of his colleague he made no resistance, but suffered him to expel from the Senate, not only all the Freedmen, who had gained admission into that assembly, but likewise many of the nobility themselves; among whom was Crispus Sallustius, the historian. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλαύδιος ἠναντιῶτο μὲν αὐτῷ, (τὰ γὰρ τῆ Πομπηΐᾳ ἠρεῖτο) ἐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ καὶ ἄκων ὠφέλησε. πλείστες γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βελευτῶν διέγραψεν, ἐκβιασάμενος τὸν συνάρχοντα· κἀκ τότε πάντας αὐτὸς τὰ τῆ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν ἐποίησεν. ὁ γὰρ Πίσων ἔτ' ἄλλως πρᾶγμα ἔχειν ἐθέλων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆ γαμβρῆ φιλίαν πολλὰ θεραπεύων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀδὲν ποιῆτον ἐποίησεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐκ ἀντέπραξε, πάντας μὲν τὲς ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, συχνὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν πάνυ γενναίων, ἄλλες τε καὶ τὸν Κρίσπον τὸν Σαλέστιον, τὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν συγγράψαντα, ἀπελάσαντι ἐκ τῆ συνεδρίε. Dion. Cass. L. XI. p. 168. Edit. Stephan. By considering the context, together with the latter part of this passage, the true cause of Sallust's removal from the Senate will be sufficiently apparent. It would be in vain to expect so much candour from Le Clerc: But it is rather singular that Dr Adam (whose accuracy, as to facts, is so very remarkable, even when they are collateral to his subject) should not only omit to discriminate between our author and his nephew, Sallustius Crispus, but should also, without any authority whatever, tack the account of the degradation of Sallust, from the Greek writer, to the anecdote recorded by Aulus Gellius, and state, that the intrigue with Fausta was the *cause* of the historian's expulsion from the Senate; occurrences which, even if both founded on fact, could have no manner of connection with each other. See Rom. Antiq. p. 6.

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(49.) See De Brosses, Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. 350.—Professor

Meisner, whose incorrectness and dogmatism I have already noticed, Page 48.
in his Life of Sallust (p. 7.), rests his account of the historian's expulsion from the Senate, not only on the uncertain report of Asconius Pedianus, but he also refers to Dion Cassius, as having given "the intrigue with Fausta," *(die Milonische Ehebruchs-Geschichte)*, as the *specific cause* of that disgrace. I believe it would puzzle M. Meisner to point out any such passage, in the work of Dion Cassius, who speaks of Sallust, as far as I know, only three times in his history (L. XL. 63. XLII. 52. XLIII. 9. Edit. Reimar.); and in none of the places is the slightest insinuation, to this purpose, to be found. Dion Cassius well knew, and he has clearly intimated, that Sallust's degradation was in no wise the consequence of extraordinary profligacy of manners, but solely proceeded from private animosity, and political intrigue: And what sets the fact, at once, in the clearest point of view, is the admirable account, given in Cicero's Familiar Letters (See Note 47. on Page 46. anteh.), of the *real* motives that influenced Appius, in his absurd exercise of the Censorian authority.

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(50.) The antient Declaimer, who personates Cicero, after enlarging on the ignominy of Sallust's degradation, by the two immaculate Censors, Appius and Piso (*integerrimi viri*, as he calls them!), immediately subjoins; *Neque, post illum delectum Senatûs, umquam te vidimus; nisi fortè in ea te castra conjecisti, quò omnis sentina reipublicæ confluxerat.* Declamat. in Sallust. VI.

(51.) *Sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat.* See Sallust's fine portrait of Cæsar, Bel. Catilin. LVII.

(52.) The Rubicon (hod. the Luso, and Rugone) is a small river of Italy, which country it antiently separated from Cisalpine Gaul. It rises in the Apennine mountains, and, taking its course between

Page 48. Arminium and Ravenna, falls into the Adriatic sea. See Cic. Philip. VI. 3.—Strab. L. V. pp. 217. 227. Edit. Casaub.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. III. 15.—Cellar. Geograph. IX.

Gallica certa
Limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arva colonis.
Lucan. L. I. 215.

On the banks of this river there stood a column of pure marble, having this authoritative decree engraven upon it: *Imperator, miles, tirove armate, quisquis es, hic sistito, vexillum sinito, arma deponito, nec citra hunc amnem Rubiconem, signa, arma, exercitumve traducito. Si quis, ergo, adversus præcepta ierit feceritve, adjudicatus esto hostis Pop. Rom.; ac si contra patriam arma tulerit, &c.* To Cæsar, such an object was sufficiently striking, and he knew, that if he transgressed the bounds of his province, and entered Italy, it was virtually declaring war against Pompey and the Senate. Although there can be little doubt, that he had long meditated the design of seizing the government, yet, when the blow was to be struck, it made a deep impression on his mind. Plutarch has given us a natural description of his feelings. When he reached the banks of the Rubicon, says that judicious writer, his reflections became more and more interesting, as the moment of decision drew near. Struck with the magnitude of his attempt, he paused for a while, and revolving, in silence, the various allurements and difficulties on either side, he many times changed his opinion. After this, he called a council of his confidential friends. He began to discourse on the mighty consequences, which the passage of that little stream would involve, the calamities it was to bring upon the world, and the reflections it would draw down from posterity. When, urged by a sudden impulse, and bidding adieu to reflexion, he plunged, as it were, into futurity; and, in the words of those, who embark in great and doubtful enterprises, cried out, The die is cast! *(Jacta esto alea!)* and immediately crossed the river.

Ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὁρίζοντα τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας ποταμὸν (Ῥουβίκωνα καλεῖται) καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσήει, μᾶλλον ἐγγίζοντα τῷ δεινῷ, καὶ περιφερομένον τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τολμωμένων, ἔσχε τὸν δρόμον· καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιστήσας, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ διήνεγκε, σιγῇ τὴν γνώμην ἐπ' ἀμφότερα μεταλαμβάνων, καὶ τροπὰς ἔσχεν αὐτῷ τότε τὸ βέλευμα πλείστας· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς παροῦσιν συνδιηπόρησεν, ἀναλογιζόμενος, ἡλίκων κακῶν ἄρξει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἡ διάβασις, ὅσον τε λόγον αὐτῆς τοῖς αὖθις ἀπολείψει. τέλος δὲ μετὰ θυμοῦ τινος, ὥσπερ ἀφεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς εἰς τύχας ἐμβαίνεσιν ἀπόρρητον καὶ τόλμας προοίμιον ὑπειπών· Ἀνερρίφθω κύβος· ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν. In Jul. Cæs. XXXII Edit. Reiske.—Appian (De Bel. Civil. L. II. pp. 739. 740. Edit. Toll.) gives a similar account, but with less amplitude and energy. See also Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. XVI. 12.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 49.—Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. XXXII.—Lucan. L. I. 185.—215.

(53.) This was that masterly stroke of Cæsar's, after chacing Pompey out of Italy; when, instead of pursuing him further, he wisely set out for Spain, in order to encounter there the most formidable troops in his rival's interest, and commanded by his Lieutenants Petreius, Afranius, and Varro. His intention was, he said, first to engage an army without a general (which, indeed, he most successfully accomplished), and then return to find a general without an army. *Validissimas Pompeii copias, quæ sub tribus legatis, M. Petreio, et L. Afranio, et M. Varrone, in Hispaniâ erant, invasit; professus antè inter suos, Ire se ad exercitum sine duce, et indè reversurum ad ducem sine exercitu.* Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. XXXIV.

(54.) Cleric. Vit. Sallust.—De Brosses, Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. p. 354. Some think, from a passage in Dion Cassius (L. XLIII. p. 236. Edit. Stephan.), that it was through the Prætorship that Sallust recovered his Senatorian dignity: But the Quæstorship seems the

Page 49. 50. more probable method; as that was, beyond question, the first office in the regular gradation of the Roman magistracy. The antient Declaimer, who personates Cicero, considers the historian's restoration in this point of view, and indignantly asks him, *Tu Crispe Sallusti, tantidem putas esse, bis Senatorem, et bis Quæstorem fieri, quanti bis Consularem, et bis triumphalem?* Declamat. in Sallust. VIII.

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(55.) Voss. de Histor. Latin. L. I. 15.—Cleric. Vit. Sallust.—De Brosses, Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. pp. 353, 354.

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(56.) After the unfortunate defeat at Pharsalia, Pompey's resource was to seek refuge in Egypt, then under the government of Ptolemy Dionysius, son to Ptolemy Auletes, which last prince had owed him particular obligations. In the very act of landing in that country, a wretch named Septimius, formerly one of Pompey's own officers, but who had deserted from the service, by the king's command, and on the suggestion of a slave, basely assassinated him. This great man's head was then cut off, and his body miserably exposed on the strand of Egypt, till it was taken up by one of his Freedmen, and burnt on the shore, with the planks of an old fishing-boat. So true is the reflection of Velleius Paterculus, on a reverse of fortune, no less singular than instructive; That he, who once had found the earth almost too narrow for his victories, was at last without a spot sufficient for his grave. *Princeps Romani nominis imperio arbitrioque Ægyptii mancipii jugulatus est... In tantum in illo à se discordante fortunâ, ut cui modò ad victoriam terra defuerat, deesset ad sepulturam.* L. II. 53. See Cicero's concise, and just character of Pompey, in Epist. ad Attic. L. XI. 6., and his eloquent, and pathetic mention of his fate, Tuscul. Disputat. L. I. 35.—See also

Lucan. L. VIII. 701, &c.—Flor. L. IV. 2.—Plutarch. in Pomp. pp. 660—662.—Appian. De Bel. Civil. L. II. pp. 787—789. Edit. Toll.—Dion. Cass. L. XLII. pp. 210. 211. For a further account of Pompey, the reader may examine the Notes on Catiline's Conspiracy. Page 52.

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(57.) AUGUSTUS, among other new regulations, in particular augmented the number of the Senators, in the manner recommended by Sallust (Dion. Cass. L. LII. LV.): And, indeed, Julius Cæsar himself had set the example, by following the same advice. See Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. XLII. &c. For further particulars concerning the arrangements, in the different departments, proposed by Sallust, See the two Letters on the Administration of the Commonwealth, and Notes.

(58.) HIST. de Bel. Afric. VIII. XXXIV.—Dion. Cass. L. XLII. p. 236. Edit. Stephan.

(59.) PLUTARCH. in Ciceron. p. 881. Edit. Francof.

(60.) DIONYS. HALICARNASS. L. X. p. 627. Edit. Sylburg. See the origin of the name, in Macrob. Saturnal. L. II. 14.

(61.) THIS was Marcus Terentius Varro, by way of pre-eminence, and, as it appears, with great justice, styled, "the most learned of the Romans" *(Doctissimus Romanorum)*. Sen. Consol. ad Helv. VIII.—Quintil. L. X. 1. p. 748. Edit. Hack. He was not only a distinguished scholar, but likewise an excellent soldier, having uncommonly signalised himself, and even obtained a naval crown, under Pompey, in the war against the Pirates (See Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. IX. 13.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. VII. 30. XVI. 4.); and likewise, A. U. C. 704,

Page 53. as Lieutenant to the same commander, in Spain. See Dion. Cass. L. XLI. p. 184.—Plutarch. in Cæs. p. 725.—Cæs. de Bel. Civil. L. II. 17—21. In the civil wars, he was taken in arms by Cæsar, but freely pardoned.—Afterwards, at the age of 75, during the second Triumvirate, Mark Antony proscribed him. Still he had the good fortune to escape, although with the loss of his valuable library, and a part of his writings. Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. III. p. 991. Edit. Toll.—Aul. Gell. L. III. 10. Varro was the intimate friend of Cicero (who dedicated to him his First Book of Academical Questions), of Asinius Pollio, and probably also of Sallust, and other eminent persons of that period. He was, at once, a respectable poet, a profound philosopher, an able critic, and a most indefatigable antiquary, whose multifarious compositions, at the age of 84, amounted nearly to 500 Books or Treatises (Aul. Gell. L. III. 10.); of which, however, the whole have unfortunately perished, except a small tract *De Re Rusticâ*, and part of a larger work *De Linguâ Latinâ*, which he inscribed to Cicero. He had the charge of the public Greek and Latin libraries at Rome; and lived, in philosophical retirement, down to the third year of Augustus's reign, A. U. C. 725, dying at the advanced age of eighty-eight. Euseb. Chronic. ad An. Abrah. MDCCCCLXXXIX. For further particulars of this universal scholar, See the fine eulogium pronounced upon him by his friend Cicero, in Academ. Quest. L. I. 3., and by the elder Pliny, Hist. Natur. L. VII. 30., XXXV. 2. See, likewise, Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. X. 1.—Symmach. Epist. L. I. —Augustin. de Civit. Dei, L. IV. 1.—Lactant. Divin. Institut. L. I. 6.

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(62.) Ἡ δὲ Τερεντία, καὶ γὰρ ἐδ' ἄλλως ἦν πραεῖά τις, ἐδ' ἄτολμος τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος γυνὴ, καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ὁ Κικέρων, τῶν πολιτικῶν μεταλαμβάνουσα παρ' ἐκείνου φρονήσεως, ἢ μεταδιδοῦσα τῶν οἰκειακῶν ἐκείνῳ, &c. Vit. Ciceron. p. 870. Edit. Francof.

(63.) CICERO, who, for a long time, entertained a warm affection for Page 53.
Terentia, and had a high opinion of her merit (as may be seen from the Fourteenth Book of his Epistles), always mentioned, even to his intimate friends, her failings, as well as the vexation she had given him, with particular delicacy. Enough may be gathered, from his Familiar correspondence, to shew, that the account of her temper and conduct, as given by Plutarch, has sufficient foundation in fact. Hinting to Atticus her neglect and extravagance, concerning a certain remittance of money, while he was detained at Brundusium, in 706, he says; *Nam quod scribis, nobis nostra et tua Terentiæ fore parata: Tua credo: Nostra quæ poterunt esse? De Terentiâ autem (mitto cætera, quæ sunt innumerabilia) quid ad hoc addi potest? Scripseras, ut* H-S. XII. *permutaret; tantum esse reliquum de argento. Misit illa* CCIↃↃ. *mihi, et adscripsit, tantum esse reliquum. Cùm hoc tam parvum de parvo detraxerit, perspicis quid in maximâ re fecerit.* Epist. ad Attic. L. XI. 24. In another place, he tells him; *De Terentiâ non possum commodiùs scribere quàm tu scribis. Officium sit nobis antiquissimum. Si quid nos fefellerit, illius malo me quàm mei pœnitere.* Id. L. XII. 21. This is rather obscure. But, afterwards, he lays open, to the same friend, in terms far more explicit, the very acute sensations of pain and disquietude, which her conduct had often occasioned; *De Terentiâ, quòd mihi omne onus imponis; non cognosco tuam in me indulgentiam. Ista enim sunt ipsa vulnera, quæ non possum tractare sine maximo gemitu. Moderare igitur, quæso, ut potes.* Id. L. XII. 22. In a confidential letter to another friend (Plancius), who, it seems, had written to congratulate him upon his second marriage, he frankly acknowledges, that he never should have thought of such a step, had he not found, on returning from Greece, that his domestic affairs were in a state fully as deplorable as those of the republic. He was surrounded, he says, with enemies within his own walls. On the one hand, the perfidy of his brother, and his nephew, who, notwithstanding Cicero's extraordinary kindness to both, were labouring to ruin

Page 53. him with Cæsar; and, on the other, the profusion and mismanagement of Terentia, rendered it necessary, he declares, to secure himself by new alliances, on experiencing such treachery, and disappointment in the old. *Ego tam misero tempore nihil novi consilii cepissem, nisi in reditu meo nihilo meliores res domesticas, quàm rempublicam offendissem. Quibus enim, pro meis immortalibus beneficiis, carissima mea salus, et meæ fortunæ esse debebant; cùm propter eorum scelus nihil mihi intra meos parietes tutum, nihil insidiis vacuum viderem, novarum me necessitudinum fidelitate contra veterum perfidiam, muniendum putavi.* Epist. ad Fam. L. IV. 14.

(64.) PLUTARCH. in Ciceron. p. 881. On Cicero's divorce, there were many of the first families in Rome ambitious of being allied to so distinguished a character; and, among other connections, the daughter of Pompey the Great was proposed to him. See Epist. ad Attic. L. XII. 11. He at length pitched upon Publilia, a handsome young woman, who, though her age was disproportionate to his own, was well allied, and had a great fortune. By this measure, Plutarch thinks, a full apology was made for Terentia, who loudly denied all the charges that Cicero had made against her, and said, it was plain enough he had forsaken her, on account of the youth and beauty of her rival. Cicero's Freedman Tyro (who published an account of his master's witticisms, a work now lost), as positively declares (adds Plutarch), that he married Publilia for the sake of her fortune, which came very opportunely to discharge his debts, and was in his own hands, as her guardian, at the time. See Plutarch. ubi sup.

(65.) *ILLA conjunx egregia, quæ de fontibus Tullianis hauserat sapientiam, nupsit Sallustio, inimico ejus (Ciceronis), et tertiò, Messalæ Corvino; et quasi per quosdam gradus eloquentiæ devoluta est.* Hieronym. Op. Tom. IV. par. 2. p. 190.

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(66.) CICERO's marriage with Terentia was entered into, when he Page 54.
was thirty years old, A. U. C. 677, during the Consulship of Cn. Octavius, and M. Scribonius Curio (Middleton's Life of Cic. Vol I. p. 63. 8vo.), just the year before he stood for the Quæstorship (Orat. in Pison. I.). Supposing Terentia, then, to have been only fifteen at the time (and women, by the Roman law, were marriageable at the age of twelve), it fixes her birth to the year of Rome 662; thus making her six years older than Sallust, and about five-and-forty, at the period of their union.

(67.) THE fortune was no more than a hundred and twenty thousand Denarii, equal to L. 3875 Sterling (See Plutarch. in Ciceron. p. 864.), which, according to the then value of money at Rome, cannot be considered as an irresistible temptation.

In regard to marriage, by the laws of the Twelve Tables, a man was permitted to divorce his wife; but it was only for great and heinous crimes, such as infidelity, bringing into his house supposititious children, and the like. Cic. Philip. II. 28.—Aul. Gell. L. X. 23. After the first 600 years of the city, divorces became extremely frequent, and were resorted to upon the most frivolous pretences. If the wife was guilty of infidelity, she forfeited her dowry (Val. Maxim. L. VIII. 2. iii.): But if the divorce took place, without any crime on her part, the dowry was refunded, sometimes all at once, and sometimes by instalments. Thus, we find Cicero mentioning, to Atticus, the different payments made to Terentia (*Pensiones*). See Epist. ad Attic. L. XI. 23. 25., &c. It sometimes happened, that an action was brought (*Actio malæ tractationis*), in order to ascertain by the fault of which of the parties the divorce was occasioned. See Cic. Top. IV.—Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. VII. 3.—Declamat. VIII. XVIII. When the divorce took place at the instance of the husband, the marriage contract, in presence of witnesses, was torn (*Tabulæ nuptiales frangebantur*. See Tacit.

Page 54. Annal. L. XI. 30.—Juvenal. Sat. IX. 75.). The keys were then taken from the wife, and a certain form of words was pronounced by a Freedman; *Res tuas tibi habe; Tuas res tibi agito; Exi, exi ociùs; Vade foras; I foras, mulier;* or the like. (Plaut. Casin. Act. II. 2. —Cic. de Orat. L. I. 40.—Juvenal. Sat. L. VI. 145.—Martial. Epigram. L. XI. 104.). When the divorce was at the wife's instance, she, in like manner, pronounced certain words. Thus, we find Alcmena saying to the pretended Amphytrio, *Valeas; tibi habeas tuas res, redde meas.* Plaut. Amphyt. Act. III. 2. 47.

(68.) HIERONYM. Op. Tom. IV. par. 2. p. 190.

(69.) TERENTIA, as it appears, lived, at least, to the year of Rome 765, reaching the extraordinary age of 103, or, according to some, of 117 (See Val. Maxim. L. VIII. 13. vi.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. VII. 48.), and married Vibius Rufus, who was Consul in the reign of Tiberius. Now, highly as we may be disposed to rate the charms of Terentia, it will not be believed, that they had great attractions for her *fourth* lover. Rufus, it seems, was a man of singularity of taste, rather than ardour of passion. He had a turn for *antiques;* and valued himself not a little on the possession of two things, that had belonged to two of the greatest men of the age before him, Cicero's wife, and Cæsar's chair, the same in which the Dictator was stabbed in the Senate-house. Yet the jealous temper of Tiberius (says Dion Cassius, with some pleasantry) took no exception at the predilections of Rufus. He was quietly suffered to rise to the Consulship; although he might figure himself an emperor, on account of his chair, and, in right of his wife, an orator of the old republic. Ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τέτων πράξας, Οὐϊβίῳ Ῥόφῳ ἔτε ἐνεκάλεσέ τι ἀρχὴν, ὁτι τῷ τε Καίσαρος δίφρῳ (ἐφ' ᾧ ἀεί ποτε ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐσφάγη) ἐχρῆτο. τέτό τε γὰρ ὁ Ῥῆφος ἐπιτηδεύσας ἔπραττε, καὶ τῇ τε Κικέρωνος γυναικὶ συνῴκει· σεμνυνόμενος ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ, ὥσπερ ἢ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ῥήτωρ, ἢ διὰ τὸν δίφρον Καίσαρ ἐσό-

μενος. ἐ μὴν ἔτε αἰτίαν τινὰ ἐπὶ τέτῳ ἔσχε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπάτευσε. Page 54. L. LVII. 15. Edit. Reimar.

(70.) THE Scipio here mentioned was Metellus Scipio, the son of Scipio Nasica, and the father-in-law of Pompey the Great, whom we have already seen a candidate for the Consulship, together with Hypsæus and Milo. See Note 96. anteh. This Cato was Marcus Cato the younger, great-grandson to the Censor, and, from the place of his death, surnamed "of Utica." See Note 23. anteh., and on Catiline's Conspiracy, Sect. LVII. For an account of Faustus Sylla, See Note 24. anteh. Petreius and Afranius were two excellent and experienced officers, who had been Lieutenants under Pompey in Spain; and the former is remarkable for having commanded, in the absence of the Consul Antonius, the troops of the republic, in that desperate engagement, wherein Catiline was defeated and killed, near the Apennine mountains. Bel. Catilin. LXII. LXIII. For further particulars concerning Petreius, See the Notes on the above passage. In regard to Afranius, he had likewise served under Pompey, with great distinction, in Asia, and held the Consulship, A. U. C. 694, together with Metellus Celer. Hirt. de Bel. Afric. I. XXXV. &c.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 48.—Dion. Cass. L. XXXVII. pp. 35. 36. 58. XLI. p. 182. Edit. Stephan.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 745—747. Edit. Toll.—Flor. L. IV. 2.—Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. XXXIV.—Lucan. L. IV. 4. 47. 338. &c.

(71.) JUBA reigned over Numidia and Mauritania, which kingdoms he inherited from his father Hiempsal. He sided with Pompey, against Cæsar, and defeated Curio, who was sent against him by the Dictator. On the loss of the battle of Thapsus, gained by Cæsar, Juba was abandoned by his subjects, and, resolving rather to die, than fall into the hands of the conqueror, the prince and Petreius determined to perish by mutual wounds. Hirt. be Bel. Civ. L. II. 25. 42., &c.—

Page 54. De Bel. Afric. XXV. XXXVI. &c. XCIV.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 53. 54.—Pomp. Mel. L. I. 6.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. pp. 747—749. 801. Edit. Toll.—Dion. Cass. L. XLI. pp. 193. 194. XLIII. pp. 244. 245. Edit. Stephan.—Flor. L. IV. 2.—Plutarch. in Cæs. & Pomp.—Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. XXXV.—Lucan. L. IV. 724. X. 146, &c. Young Juba, the son of this monarch, became still more eminent than his father. Being led captive to Rome, to adorn Cæsar's triumph, he received the benefit of an excellent education, and made great proficiency in learning. By the courteousness of his manners, he gained the affections of the Romans; and Augustus, at whose court he was a favourite, bestowed on him, in marriage, young Cleopatra, the daughter of Mark Antony, together with his paternal dominions. Juba is greatly celebrated as a scholar, and an historian. He composed the history of Rome in Greek, a work often quoted, and commended by antient authors, but of which a few fragments only are extant. He wrote, also, the history and antiquities of Assyria and Arabia, collected chiefly from Berosus; besides, some detached treatises on the drama, on Roman antiquities, on painting, grammar, &c. which are also lost. See concerning him, Strab. L. VI. p. 288. XVII. p. 831. Edit. Casaub.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. XII. 14. &c.—Dion. Cass. L. LIV. p. 589.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 802. Edit. Toll.—Sueton. in Calig. XXVI.—Plutarch. in Cæs. p. 733. In Anton. p. 955. Edit. Francof.

(72.) Alluding to the glorious victories of the elder, and the younger Scipio Africanus, during the second and third Punic Wars: For, although a hundred years had elapsed, since Carthage was destroyed by the son of Æmilius, yet his fame still lived in the memory of the Romans. The belief, mentioned in the text, was strengthened by the prediction of an oracle, of which the purport was, "That the race of the Scipios should ever prove victorious in Africa." Cæsar, on landing at Adrumetum, found that the tale had made an impression on his

men; and well knowing that there was no superstition so inveterate as that of a Roman soldier, he resolved to turn the circumstance to his own advantage. He appointed one Scipio Sallutio (a descendant of the great Africanus), who then chanced to be in his army, the nominal commander of the troops. The man, as it happened, had neither genius nor ability: But the soldiers were desired to obey the oracle, and march forward to success, under the banner of Scipio. See Plutarch. in Cæs. p. 732. Edit. Francof. Dion Cassius likewise makes mention of this instance of Cæsar's address, but he names the person Scipio Salatto. L. XLII. pp. 239. 240. Edit. Stephan. Page 55. 56.

(73.) THE account which is here given of this whole transaction, and the consequent mutiny of the troops, is taken from the relation of Dion Cassius, of Appian, of Plutarch, of Suetonius; and the several particulars, recorded by those authors, are compressed into one connected narrative.

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(74.) DION. CASS. L. XLII. p. 236. Edit. Stephan.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 794. Edit. Toll.—Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. LXX.

(75.) THE Drachma was properly a Greek coin, and sometimes used by the Romans, in computing their money. It was equal to the Roman Denarius, or 7¾ d. of our money: Consequently, a thousand Drachmæ may be calculated at L. 32 : 5 : 10 Sterling. See Adam's Rom. Antiq. pp. 495. 497.

(76.) APPIAN. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 794.

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(77.) DION. CASS. L. XLII. p. 236.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 794.

Page 57. (78.) APPIAN. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 795.—Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. LXX.—Plutarch. in Cæs. p. 732. Edit. Francof. When the men, in a mutinous manner, proceeded to demand their pay, and their dismission from the service, Cæsar, with great presence of mind, immediately cried out to them, Romans! *(Quirites!)* you have spoken well; for you are, indeed, exhausted with fatigues and hardships! Περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐδὲ σφίσι τοπαράπαν ἀπεκρίνατο, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν μόνα, "ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς γε, ὦ Κυϊρῖται, λέγετε· καὶ γὰρ κεκμήκατε, καὶ κατατέτρωσθε." Dion. Cass. L. XLII. p. 237. Edit. Stephan. By this well-known appellation, a sudden appeal was carried home, from the breast of the guilty soldier, to that of the Roman citizen: The military oath was at once dissolved; and the indignation with which their general seemed to dispense with all further service, completely filled them with confusion and remorse.—The Roman soldier, at this time, had still remaining a nice sense of honour, which, as the antient discipline relaxed, came gradually to be destroyed. Germanicus, in the sedition among the German legions, only three-score years after, reminded them of the authoritative voice of the deified Julius: *Divus Julius* (said he), *seditionem exercitûs uno verbo compescuit, Quirites vocando, qui sacramentum ejus detrectabant;* but the animated appeal had then lost its influence. See Tacit. Annal. L. I. 42.

(79.) APPIAN. de Bel. Civil. L. II. pp. 795. 796.—Dion. Cass. L. XLII. pp. 237. 238.—Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. LXX.

(80.) CIC. de Divinat. L. II. 24.—Hirt. de Bel. Afric. I.—Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. LIX.—Minut. Fel. p. 240. Edit. Hack.

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(81.) HIRT. de Bel. Afric. VIII.

(82.) *Hæc ita imperabat, uti, fieri posset necne, locum excusa-*

tio nullum haberet, nec moram tergiversatio. Hirt. de Bel. Afric. VIII. Page 58.

(83.) HIRT. de Bel. Afric. XXXIV.

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(84.) DION CASSIUS (who lived in the time of the Emperor Alexander Severus), gives Sallust the title of Governor of Numidia (L. XLIII. 9.); from which it is only to be understood, that the Proconsular residence was in that country: For it appears by the context, as well as by the account given by Appian, that the whole maritime districts of Lybia, round Carthage, named the Old Province, and the more extensive range of Numidia, together with Mauritania (i. e. Juba's kingdom), called the New Province, were now formed into one government, and given to Sallust. Τοῦτό τε ἓν ἔτως ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ἔθνη ταῦτα, τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα (ὃ δὴ καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καλεῖμεν), παλαιὸν, ὅτι ἐκ πολλοῦ κατείργαστο· τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν Νομάδων, νέον, ὅτι νεωστὶ εἵλητο, ἐπωνομάσθη. Dion. Cass. L. XLIII. 9. Καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἰόβα Καῖσαρ ὑποτελῆ Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, αὐτῇ Σαλέστιον Κρίσπον ἐγκαταστήσας. Appian. L. II. p. 801. Edit. Toll. In this sentiment I am the more confirmed, by perceiving another passage in Dion Cassius, who relates, that, more than four-score years after, during the reign of Caligula, when L. Piso, the son of Cn. Piso and Plancina, was governor of Africa, the enterprising genius of the man, and the vast weight and influence which that station conferred, gave alarm to the jealous tyrant, who therefore fell upon the expedient of dividing the government into *two parts*, and putting the command of the army, and of the Numidians, under another officer; which arrangement, says the historian, has continued down to the present times. Ἐπειδή τε Λέκιος Πείσων, ὁ τῆς τε Πλαγκίνης καὶ τοῦ Γναίου Πείσωνος υἱὸς, ἄρξας τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἔτυχεν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεωτερίσῃ τι ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν καὶ

Page 58. ξενικὴν ἕξειν ἔμελλε· καὶ δίχα τὸ ἔθνος νείμας, ἑτέρῳ τό, τε στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τὲς Νομάδας τὲς περὶ αὐτὸ προσέταξε· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνε καὶ δεῦρο τῆτο γίγνεται. L. LIX. 20.

(85.) THE good fortune, that attended Cæsar in all his enterprises, did not desert him in the African War. Although Cato and Scipio, by Juba's assistance, had drawn together a great army, he totally defeated them at Thapsus, A. U. C. 707. Faustus Sylla and Afranius were taken prisoners, and put to death; and Cato, who commanded at Utica, in order to avoid an humiliating submission to the conqueror, after calmly reading Plato's book on the immortality of the soul, fell upon his own sword. See Hirt. de Bel. Afric. LXXXVIII. & seqq. —Liv. Epit. CXIV.—Dion. Cass. L. XLIII. 1.—14.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. pp. 800. 801, Edit. Toll. After the decisive victory of Thapsus, Scipio attempted to cross over to Spain: But, being overtaken by a part of Cæsar's fleet, and unable to escape, he first stabbed himself to the heart, and then plunged into the sea. Hirt. and Appian. ubi sup. As for King Juba and Petreius (of whom the latter had already experienced Cæsar's clemency), they had no hopes of pardon, and they agreed to perish, as I have already noticed, by mutual wounds. Rushing on each other, as if in single combat, Juba, who was the younger, soon finished his friend, and was himself, at his own desire, dispatched by one of his slaves. See Hirt. Sect. XCIV. —Appian. & Dion. Cass. ubi. sup.—Lucan. L. IV. & VI. 310. &c.

(86.) M. LE CLERC, speaking of our author's appointment to the Prætorship, and the command in the expedition of Cæsar to Africa (in consequence of which he became Governor of that province), says; This office, instead of being the just reward of Sallust's two exhortatory discourses on the Administration of the Government, seems rather to have been the price of the vile, and disgraceful flatteries, which he lavished on Cæsar, in those productions. *Qui honor*

videtur, non tam monitorum de Republicâ Ordinandâ, quàm turpium adulationum iis admissarum, præmium fuisse. Cleric. Vit. Sallust. To have attributed any part of this recompense to personal esteem, on the part of Cæsar, or to fidelity, on that of the historian, would have been to allow Sallust the possession of, at least, one virtue; and that was a concession, which does not seem to have come within M. Le Clerc's plan of writing. Page 58.

(87.) See Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. IV. See the Chronology of Sallust's writings examined at large, in Essay Second.

(88.) The celebrated Carthaginian Books (says he), said to have belonged to King Hiempsal, to which I had access, are the source of my information; and of which the tenour entirely coincides with the belief concerning their descent, still current among the natives of Africa. *Ex libris Punicis, qui Regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est; utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant.* Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. XX.

(89.) See Petrarch. in Judic. & Crinit. in Vit. Sallust. It was an absurd fancy in Petrarch to suppose (for he quotes no authority in support of the assertion), that Sallust passed over into Africa, for the purpose of seeing the places, which he intended to describe, on that continent; although, during his government of the province, it was natural that he should enlarge his information, and gratify his curiosity. Neither have we any reason to think that he visited Spain, or Asia, or any of the other countries, described in his great History. *Crispus Sallustius, nobilis historicus veritatis (sic enim de illo apud auctores verissimos scriptum video), quò fideliùs res Africæ complecteretur, libros Punicos perquisivit, peregrinamque linguam, per interpretem, flagranti studio scrutatus est; quin et maria transgressus dicitur, ut*

Page 59. *oculis suis crederet de conditione locorum.* Warburton has acutely noticed this fancy of Petrarch's, and laughed at it accordingly. See Tracts by Warburton, and a Warburtonian, pp. 114. 115.

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(90.) Dion Cassius describes Cæsar, on the submission of Numidia, and the other African states, as putting them under the government of Sallust. This, adds he, was the nominal object of the appointment; but it is certain, that Cæsar fairly gave the country to be plundered by that officer. When prosecuted, by the Africans, for peculation and extortion, the odium the historian acquired was the more flagrant, that the same corrupt conduct, in administering the provinces, which, in his writings, are represented with such uncommon acrimony, he was very little solicitous to avoid. Καὶ τούτε τάς τε ἄλλας πόλεις, μηδενὸς ἀνθισταμένε, παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὲς Νομάδας λαβὼν, ἔς τε τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐπήγαγε, καὶ τῷ Σαλεστίῳ, λόγῳ μὲν, ἄρχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ, ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν, ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐδωροδόκησε πολλὰ καὶ ἥρπασεν· ὥστε καὶ κατηγορηθῆναι αἰσχύνην αἰσχίστην ὀφλῆσαι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγράμματα συγγράψας, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πικρὰ περὶ τῶν ἐκκαρπεμένων τινὰς εἰπὼν, ἐκ ἐμιμήσατο τῷ ἔργῳ τὲς λόγες. L. XLIII. 9. Edit. Reimar.

(91.) The Romans, in their administration of the provinces, maintained the image, if not the reality, of public justice; as every country, deeming itself oppressed by the governor, had a right of appeal to the tribunal of the Roman People. Thus, Verres was prosecuted for robbery and oppression by the Sicilians, and Æmilius Scaurus, by the Sardinians. But the culprits were sometimes acquitted on frivolous pretences, or through open bribery; and, sometimes, the provincials enjoyed the empty honour of gaining their cause, but without any adequate reparation for injuries. On the plundering of Africa, by Marius Priscus, it was truly observed by Juvenal;

Et hic damnatus inani Page 61.
Judicio, (quid enim salvis infamia nummis?)
Exsul ab octavâ bibit Marius, et fruitur Dîs
Iratis; at tu, *victrix* provincia, ploras!
Sat. I. 47.

It was something very noble, says Pliny (who, with his friend Tacitus, was then counsel for the Africans), it was worthy of antient Rome, to see the Senate solemnly deliberating, for three days together, on this business. *Jam hoc ipsum pulchrum et antiquum, Senatum nocte dirimi, triduo vocari, triduo contineri.* Epist. L. II. 11. But Pliny, when he wrote the account, was too much occupied with his own, and his friend's eloquence on the trial, his five hours speech, the grandeur of the spectacle, and the attentions of the emperor, to pay much regard to the sort of retribution that was obtained by his clients.

(92.) ACCURATELY, L. 9,687 : 10 s. Dion Cassius simply states, that Sallust was acquitted by Cæsar. Ὅθεν εἰ καὶ ταμάλιστα ἀφείθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, &c. The Declaimer, however, who personates Cicero, says, in one place (Declam. in Sallust. VII.), that Cæsar received, from our author, the sum mentioned in the text, in order to stop the prosecution; *Ne causam diceret, sestertio duo decies cum Cæsare pactus est.* In another place (Sect. V.), he affirms, that, on some former occasion, he escaped condemnation, much less from his own innocence, than the corrupt lenity of his judges. *Ita discessit, ut non hic innocens esse, sed judices pejerasse existimarentur.*

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(93.) LUCIUS OPIMIUS was Consul with Fabius Maximus, A. U. C. 632, and the great champion of the nobles, in opposition to the intrigues of the Gracchi, of whom the younger brother, Caius, was put to death, by his order. See Liv. Epit. L. LXI.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 5. 6.—Flor. L. III. 15.—Plutarch. in Gracch. p. 842. Edit.

Page 61. Francof.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. XXXIII. 3.—Oros. L. V. 12. When hostilities were on the eve of breaking out between the Romans, and Jugurtha, king of Numidia, Opimius was sent, at the head of a deputation of ten persons, in order to make a division of the kingdom between that prince and Adherbal. But, says Plutarch, he was vile enough to be seduced by Numidian gold; and, on his return to Rome, being brought to trial for corrupt practices, he had the mortification to be condemned, and to grow grey in infamy. Sallust, in the Jugurthine War, gives a similar account; adding, that duty, reputation, every better principle gave way, and were, without scruple, sacrificed to promote the views of the Numidian monarch. Ὀπίμιος ἐκ ἀπέσχετο κλοπῆς, ἀλλὰ πεμφθεὶς ὡς Ἰεγέρθαν τὸν Νομάδα πρεσβευτὴς, διεφθάρη χρήμασιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ δίκην ὤφλων αἰσχίστην δωροδοκίας, ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ κατεγηρασε. Plutarch. in C. Gracch. XVIII. Edit. Reiske. *Jugurtha dando et policitando perfecit, utì famâ, fide, postremò omnibus suis rebus, commodum regis anteferret.* Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. XIX. Yet this is the man, whom Cicero calls an illustrious personage, a vigorous magistrate, a most excellent and worthy citizen! *Vir præclarus, fortissimus Consul, præstantissimus civis.* See various other parts of his writings, where he speaks of Opimius in terms of great respect and applause; De Clar. Orator. XXXIV. Orat. post Red. ad Quirit. V.—In Pison. XXXIX.—Pro Sext. LXVII., &c.

This is the same Opimius, during whose Consulship the vintage all over Italy was so remarkable, that the wine then produced *(Vinum Opimianum)* was greatly valued, beyond that of any other year upon record. In the time of the elder Pliny, nearly two centuries after, there existed wine of this celebrated vintage, which, through age, had acquired the consistency of honey. It was kept for the purpose of flavouring other wines, and sold at the extravagant price of about L. 4 Sterling per ounce. See Plin. Hist. Natur. L. XIV. 4. cum

Not Harduin.—Cic. de Clar. Orator. LXXXIII.—Martial. L. I. 27. Page 61.
II. 40.

(94.) MARCUS ÆMILIUS SCAURUS was descended of an antient race, although he was left, by his father, in very narrow circumstances. Val. Max. L. IV. 4. xi.—A. U. C. 638, he obtained the Consulship, with Cæcilius Metellus for his colleague, and became Prince of the Senate *(Princeps Senatûs)*, i. e. the first Senator in point of rank, from standing foremost on the list of the Censors. He was likewise remarkable for his eloquence (Cic. de Clar. Orator. XXIX), his conquests over the Ligurians; and for having, during his Censorship, built the Milvian bridge over the Tiber, and paved the Æmilian way, which last was named after him. Strab. L. V. p. 217. Edit. Casaub.

Sallust delineates Scaurus as a person distinguished by his talents, and high descent; of a genius bold and turbulent, eager to grasp at wealth, and power, and public honours; and possessing, withal, an address so consummate, as completely to enable him to restrain his appetites, and disguise his vices. *Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum; cæterùm vitia sua callidè occultans.* Bel. Jugurthin. XVIII. When sent against Jugurtha, however, with Calphurnius Bestia, the immensity of the bribe, offered by the Numidian prince, threw him off his guard; duty and honour vanished away before it. *Magnitudine pecuniæ, à bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est.* See Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. XXXI. —Aurel. Vict. de Vir. Illust. p. 91. Edit. Delph. On a subsequent occasion, Mithridates, by dextrously employing the same persuasives, induced him to betray the commonwealth: And, on another, he was concerned in corruptly exciting the Social War. For both offences, he was formally accused, and brought to a public trial. See Ascon. Pedian. in Ciceron. Orat. pro Scaur. Fil.—Val. Max. L. III. 7. viii. Aurel. Vict. de Vir. Illust. pp. 91. 92. Edit. Delph. The enormous

Page 61. fortune he left to his son, could not have been amassed by honest methods: Accordingly, the elder Pliny declares, that he shared with Marius in his system of plunder, and was the sink and receptacle of those monstrous exactions, which that usurper contrived to levy on the provinces. *Marianis sodalitiis rapinarum provincialium sinus.* Hist. Natur. L. XXXVI. 15.

Notwithstanding these facts, we find Valerius Maximus of opinion, that Scaurus was a man of magnanimity and moderation; and, in a word, worthy to be compared, in age and virtue, to Cato the Censor! Yet he freely owns, that he was accused of being bribed by the king of Pontus; and makes him escape only by an appeal to the people, equally remarkable for its intrepidity, and its impudence. See L. III. 7. viii.—But this is nothing to the admiration bestowed by Cicero. The splendid epithets of good, virtuous, wise, temperate, firm, illustrious, magnanimous, dignified, are profusely lavished on this artful character. As he was the Prince of the Senate, says the great orator, so, likewise, he was the ornament of his country! See Orat. pro Muren. XVII. Pro Sext. XVII. Pro Font. VII. XIII. Epist. ad Fam. L. I. 9. De Offic. L. I. 30. De Clar. Orator. XXIX. &c. Of all the passages that might be quoted, I shall particularize two only, which may suffice. Speaking of the eloquence of Scaurus, he thus expresses himself: *In Scauri oratione, sapientis hominis et recti, gravitas summa, et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas, non ut causam, sed ut testimonium dicere putares, cùm pro reo diceret.* De Clar. Orator. ubi sup. In another place, we have a still fuller eulogium. *Ecquem hominem vidimus, ecquem verè commemorare possumus, parem consilio, gravitate, constantiâ, cæteris virtutibus, honoris, ingenii, rerum gestarum ornamentis, M. Æmilio Scauro fuisse?!!!* Orat. pro Font. ubi sup.

On the character of the elder Scaurus I have been the more desirous to enlarge, as a late attempt has inadvertently been made, and from a most respectable quarter, to wash it white, at the expence of the

historical veracity of Sallust, a merit which the severest critics have never ventured to deny him. See Mr Murphy's Tacitus (Notes on the Life of Agricola), Vol. IV. p. 336. See also further, on the same subject, Essay Second of the present work. Page 61.

(95.) THE son of Æmilius Scaurus bore the same name as his father; and he seems, by every account, to have been as profligate in his principles, but without the address to assume the exteriors of virtue: Hence he failed in his suit for the Consulship, and could never afterwards obtain the office. Cic. de Offic. L. I. 39. When this man returned from governing Sardinia, with the rank of Prætor, a prosecution was instituted against him, for enormous peculations and oppression. See Cic. Epist. ad Attic. L. IV. 15.—Ascon. Pedian. in Ciceron. Orat. pro Scaur. These malversations, it appears, were very notorious; insomuch, that any attempt at defence was considered as impossible. The prosecutor declared, upon the trial, that, since it was permitted him, by law, to produce the testimony of 120 witnesses, to prove the robberies committed by the Prætor, so, on this occasion, he was willing to drop the charge, if Scaurus could only bring forward, from the whole province, 120 persons, of any description, *whom he had never robbed!* But, adds the author from whom we have the anecdote, the conduct of the culprit had not been such, as that he could profit by a mode of exculpation seemingly so easy. An illustrious lineage, however, and the recent fame, and merits of his father, procured his acquittal by the court! *M. Æmilius Scaurus, repetundarum reus, adeò perditam et comploratam defensionem in judicium attulit, ut accusator diceret, lege sibi centum atque viginti hominibus denuntiare testimonium licere, seque non recusare quò minùs absolveretur, si totidem nominâsset, quibus in provinciâ nihil abstulisset! Licet tam bonâ conditione uti non potuerit; tamen, propter vetustissimam nobilitatem, et recentem memoriam patris, absolutus est.* Val. Max. L. VIII. 1. x. pp. 658. 659. Edit. Thysii. Cicero, who, in general, was sufficiently delicate

Page 61. as to the sort of causes he undertook to plead, nevertheless appeared for Scaurus, on this occasion; and the fragment of the speech still remains, which he pronounced in his favour. What is still more remarkable, as a proof of the light, in which the licence of Provincial magistrates was then considered at Rome, is the circumstance mentioned by Asconius Pedianus, viz. that no fewer than *nine persons of Consular rank*, with Cicero and Hortensius at their head, came forward to attest their approbation of Scaurus's character! ! ! Several of them happened, at the time, to be absent from Rome; but they did not fail to send written certificates; and among this number was Pompey the Great. See Schol. in Ciceron. Orat. pro Scaur. sub fin.

This is the same Scaurus, who, on occasion of the shows exhibited in his Ædileship, constructed that celebrated Theatre at Rome, capable of containing, with ease, 80,000 spectators, of which the magnificence seems so wonderful, and the expence so incredible. It was supported, as we learn from Pliny, by no fewer than 360 columns of pure marble, nearly 40 feet in height, and decorated with 3000 statues, besides innumerable paintings, and other ornaments. According to the same author, the effect of this exhibition, in diffusing a taste for extravagance and luxury, was prodigious; and he seriously doubts, which of the two were the greater calamity to the public, the desolating proscriptions of Lucius Sylla, or the Ædileship of his stepson Marcus Scaurus. *Cujus nescio an Ædilitas maximè prostraverit mores civiles, majusque sit Syllæ malum, tanta privigni potentia, quàm proscriptio tot millium.* Hist. Natur. L. XXXVI. 15. See also L. XXXIV. 7. XXXV. 11. &c.

He, who peruses this account with any degree of impartiality, will admit, how very venial a crime the plundering the provinces was considered at Rome, and that the reputation of no man could be much affected by it. In fact, a Proconsular government was accounted among those great situations, of which every one was to make the most, with as little odium and obloquy as possible.

Although the above account of Opimius, and the two Scauri was drawn up, long before the publication of the "Classical Biography" of Dr Adam, it gives me pleasure to perceive how nearly I coincide, both in opinion, and in reference, with that learned, and impartial scholar. Page 61.

(96.) See his incomparable discourse to his brother Quintus, on the duties of magistrates, and governors of provinces, in the first Letter of the first Book of the Epistles addressed to him. This piece contains, perhaps, the most useful code of instructions, that ever was drawn up, whether for the guidance of public, or private life, and well merits the attentive perusal of all who are placed in superior stations. In the whole life of Cicero, there was not any circumstance more glorious, than that his conduct in the government of Cilicia, which he so unwillingly accepted, was a noble illustration of these maxims, and proved, that from philosophy he had derived, not only the rules of theoretic wisdom, but the practice of active virtue. See Epist. ad Attic. L. V. Ad Fam. L. III. &c. At the same time, we have every reason to believe, that there were not, at that period, ten men in Rome, who, in the same circumstances, were capable of acting with equal rectitude. Even Marcus Brutus, who has so justly been extolled for probity and virtue, and by no man more highly than by Cicero himself (See de Clar. Orator. XCVII. Orat. ad Brut. X.), even he did not scruple, by means of his agents, Scaptius and Matinius, to extort about L. 20,000 Sterling, from the city of Salamis, in Cyprus. The money, it is true, was pretended to have been lent by Scaptius; but the interest exacted was at the enormous rate of 4 per cent. per month, and thence to be calculated in a compound ratio, which, in little more than a year, fairly doubled the principal. This demand was enforced, on the miserable Salaminians, not by threats only, but by a strong detachment of Roman cavalry, with which Scaptius invested their Senate, and actually shut them up, until five of the members were starved to death! *Inclusum in curiâ Senatum Salamine*

Page 62. *obsederat, ut fame senatores quinque morerentur.* Epist. ad Attic. L. VI. 1. The whole transaction had been carried on, by Brutus's desire, under the eye of the *virtuous* Appius, his father-in-law, while governor of Cilicia. But when Cicero succeeded to the administration of the province, he resisted every solicitation, from Brutus, to give his countenance to such extortion. On Atticus himself (another virtuous character) urging him to suffer the money to be procured by military force, he expressed his astonishment, how those very friends, who had so warmly commended his correctness and integrity, should now be the first to persuade him to violate them. How could I, says he, as an honest man, comply with your request, and then bear to peruse, or even to open, those writings of my own, which you have so often praised, but which indeed inculcate very different principles? *Ain' tandem, Attice, laudator integritatis et elegantiæ nostræ? "Ausus es hoc ex tuo ore," inquit Ennius, ut equites Scaptio ad pecuniam cogendam darem, me rogare? . . Et ego audebo legere umquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas, si tale quid fecero?* Epist. ad Attic. L. VI. 2. See the difference between Cicero's and Appius's method of managing the province of Cilicia, Note 42. anteh.

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(97.) Le Clerc, who, on every occasion where Sallust's character is concerned, is sure to display his injustice and malignity, even goes the absurd length of imputing to him, as *a crime*, that he promulgated doctrines so superior in purity to his own practice! Nothing, says this virulent biographer, excites greater indignation, than to behold wicked men adopting sentiments, that are at variance with their character; an artifice, by which they hope, not only to impose upon the world, but also more successfully to corrupt others. Of all the refinements in wickedness it is surely one of the most detestable, in defence of vice, to employ the arms of virtue: And yet no man, in my judgment, has more justly incurred this imputation, than Sallust, the cele-

brated historian. *Iram nostram movent improborum honesti sermones;* Page 67. *quibus, ut nequitiam suam occultent, certiùsque noceant, uti solent: Nihil enim sceleratiùs, quàm armis Virtutis uti, ut Vitium tuearis. Non puto autem quemquam pravæ hujus simulationis labe magìs infectum vixisse, quàm celeberrimum historicum C. Crispum Sallustium.* Cleric. Vit. Sall. sub. init. On this we may remark, that it should excite *still* greater indignation to perceive a writer, assuming to be a moralist, and yet thus endeavouring to strike at the root of morality. He, surely, by whose compositions virtue is exalted, and vice exposed to just abhorrence; who counteracts the appetites, represses the passions, or mends the heart, gives some ground to believe, that, if heretofore abandoned, he has been touched by repentance: At least, he has made the retribution, of all others the most valuable to the community, for the irregularities of his life. But, according to Le Clerc, a very different consequence ought to follow. None but virtuous men should write virtuous books: And as to the vicious, when they do write, they should be careful not to depart from the profligacy of their character!

Absurd and monstrous as this doctrine may seem, it is truly wonderful how many writers, awed, as I suppose, by the name of Le Clerc, have not scrupled to apply it to Sallust. The Abbé Thyvon, however, one of the Genevese critic's most reverential followers, after adopting, and even translating Le Clerc's entire Life of the historian, endeavours, by some supplemental Remarks, to vindicate his discernment, and to atone for his servility. (See Note 11. anteh.) *Il me paroît étonnant* (says he, speaking of the subject in question), *que l'on crie contre lui, plus fort que contre les autres, sous prétexte qu'il a débité des belles maximes, et qu'il ne les a pas pratiquées. Il semble, que ce soit lui faire un crime, d'avoir préservé son esprit de la corruption de son cœur.* And, emboldened, as it appears, by having thus ventured to escape from the trammels of his master, he adds, immediately after, with no less candour than energy; *S'il a scandalisé ceux, qui étoient témoins de ses vôleries; s'il a donné à ses contempo-*

Page 63. *rains un exemple pernicieux; ou s'il a appuyé, par sa conduite, ceux qu'il avoit eû lui-même; il a fourni, dans ses écrits, quantité de règles et de maximes, propres à en faire voir l'injustice, à instruire la posterité, et à en détourner ses lecteurs.* Remarques sur la Vie de Sall. p. 65. Edit. Paris. 1730.

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(98.) THE description, here given, of the Gardens of Sallust, is collected from notices concerning them, from the following authors, which See; Sext. Ruf. de Region. Urb.—Panvin. in Descript. Rom. —Marlian. Typograph. Rom. L. IV. 23.—Panciroll. Descript. Rom. in reg. sextam.—Donat. L. III. 23.—Nardini, Rom. Ant. L. IV. 7. —Borrich. Imag. Rom. C. 8.—Ficoroni, Ant. & Rarit. Rom. &c.

(99.) THE President de Brosses, who visited Rome in the year 1739 and 1740, has traced, with great accuracy, the limits and extent of the Sallustian Gardens. See Œuv. de Sall. T. III. pp. 362. 363. *Les jardins de Ludovisio occupent sur-tout l'espace le plus remarquable de ce terrein; et quoiqu' aussi éloignés de leur ancienne splendeur, que Rome moderne, malgré sa magnificence actuelle, l'est de Rome ancienne, ils font, encore aujourd'hui, l'une des plus vastes, et des plus agréables promenades de cette ville.* p. 363. By the ancient wall of Servius Tullius, the Sallustian Gardens were without the city; but they were included in it by that of Aurelian. See Nardini, Roma Antica, p. 192. & plate.

(100.) SOME make the Church of St. Suzanna to mark the very spot where Sallust's palace stood. It is separated, only by a street, from the Baths of Dioclesian, and not far from the Salarian Gate. See Nardini, Rom. Ant. pp. 192. 193.—and the great plan of modern Rome, by Nolli.

(1.) Act. Dom. Suzan. ap. Baron. ad An. 295. The whole space, occupied by the market-place, palace, and Gardens of Sallust, was, in the time of Fulvius Ursinus (i. e. the middle of the sixth century), still named *Il Sallustrico*. See Fulv. Ursin. ap. Nardini. p. 192. Page 64.

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(2.) The rich, among the Romans, were, at all times, uncommonly fond of their Gardens. They decorated them at a vast expence, and valued them chiefly for the several ornaments and advantages, which I have in the text enumerated, as distinguishing those of Sallust. The poet Martial, in a beautiful copy of verses on the gardens of his friend, the hospitable Julius Martialis, situated on the Janiculum, extols the delightful union of shade, of seclusion, of airy coolness, and various prospect, on the same spot.

Hinc Septem dominos videre Dontes,
Et totam licet æstimare Romam..
Illic Flaminiæ, Salariæque
Gestator patet, essedo tacente,
Ne blando rota sit molesta somno. &c.
Epigram. L. IV. 64.

The Romans usually retired to their gardens, in seasons of grief, melancholy, or disappointment; likewise for the sake of study, contemplation, and convivial entertainment (Martial. Epigram. ubi sup. —Sen. Epist. 21.). Cicero mourned, during thirty days, in the Antian gardens, the death of his daughter Tullia (Epist. ad Attic. L. XII. 40.); and Thrasea, when he expected the sentence of death from Nero, withdrew, in like manner, to his garden, where he received the fatal mandate (Tacit. Annal. L. XVI. 34.). The vicious taste, of cutting evergreens into fantastic shapes, was also in high estimation, for the Roman gardens; and there were slaves, called *Topiarii*, trained on purpose to perform the work. Cicero (ad Quint. Frat. L. III.

Page 64. 1. 2.), and both the Plinys (Hist. Nat. L. XV. 30. & Epist. L. III. 19.) speak of the practice as highly elegant and ornamental.

(3.) THE remains of the Aqueducts, Nardini tells us, he discovered in the Villa Verospi. See Rom. Ant. p. 192.

(4.) THIS temple, as we find from Livy, was built A. U. C. 573, by Porcius the Duumvir, in order to fulfil a vow made by his father Porcius, then Consul, during the war against the Ligurians. The structure of the Circus was still more antient than that of the temple. It was here that the games, sacred to Apollo, were celebrated, A. U. C. 552, during an inundation of the Tiber, which prevented the use of the Circus of Flaminius. *Ita abundavit Tiberis, ut ludi Apollinares, Circo inundato, extra portam Collinam, ad ædem Erycinæ Veneris parati sint.* Liv. L. XXX. 39. The circumstance of these edifices being repaired, and richly ornamented by our author, was the cause of their now receiving the name of the Sallustian. The remains of both are still discernible in the gardens of Ludovisio, but particularly the Circus; of which some of the rows, both of the seats and arches, are to be found in the valley between the Pincian, and the Quirinal hills, and supported, on each side, by those two eminences. See De Brosses, Œuv. de Sall. T. III. p. 364.

(5.) FLAM. VACCA, ap. Montfauc. p. 222. Gabriel Vacca discovered this temple, in opening the ground, in his garden, near the Salarian Gate. The marble columns were purchased by the Cardinal Montepulciano, who had them made into balustrades, for the Chapel of San Pietro in Montorio. Of the eight columns of alabaster, belonging to the door-pieces, one only was got out entire, and is allowed to be among the most elegant monuments of antiquity. It is ornamented with wreathed flutes of exquisite workmanship, and stands in

the middle of the Vatican library, where M. de Brosses saw, and admired its extraordinary beauty and transparency. Œuv. de Sall, Tom. III. p. 366. Page 64.

(6.) THE statue of Venus, here mentioned, is now in the court of the Belvedere at Rome, with the following inscription on the pedestal:

VENERI FELICI SACRUM
SALLUSTIA HELPIDUS D. D.

The President de Brosses conjectures, with great probability, that this Sallustia was the sister of the historian, and grandmother to Sallustius Crispus, his heir and successor; and that, jointly with her husband Helpidus, she dedicated the statue in question. See Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. p. 365. By another antient inscription, discovered in the sixth century (Gruter. XLIX. 4.—Fulv. Ursin. ap. Nardini, pp. 192. 193.), we find, that a part of the decorations, alluded to in the text, particularly the Mosaic pavement of the temple, was the gift of Pacorus and Stratocles, Wardens of the edifice. The inscription runs as follows:

M. AURELIUS PACORUS
ET M. COCCEIUS STRATOCLES
ÆDITUI VENERIS HORTORUM
SALLUSTIANORUM BAZEM CUM
PAIMENTO MARMORATO
DEANÆ.
D. D.

It appears, also, that Pacorus, warned by a dream, had, at his own expence, piously erected, in the Sallustian Gardens, an altar to Hope. Boissard has given an engraving of it, in his *Recueil d'Antiquités*, from which it has been copied by Montfaucon. See Tom. I. Part 2. p. 332. In this elegant piece of sculpture, the Goddess is represented

Page 65. supporting her right hand on a column, and bearing, in her left, a handful of ears of corn, intermixed with poppies. At her feet there is a hive of bees, with a sheaf of wheat over it, and adorned with flowers of various kinds. At the top is placed a bale of goods. The following inscription appears on the base:

M. AUR. PACORUS ÆDI-
TUUS SANTÆ VENE-
RIS IN SALUST. HORTIS
SPEI
ARAM CUM PAEMENTO
SOMNIO MONITUS SUM-
TU SUO. D. D.

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(7.) TACIT. Annal. L. XIII. 47.—Digest. L. XXX.—Tit. de Legat. et Fideicommiss. L. XXXIX.

(8.) THESE private entertainments, as Suetonius relates, consisted of twelve select persons, six male and six female (as the word Δωδεκάθεος obviously intimates), who were habited so as to represent the twelve celestial Gods and Goddesses. On these occasions, Apollo was the character, which the Emperor chose to assume: And it was shrewdly suspected, if we may judge from a copy of verses handed about at the time, that the party did not wholly confine themselves to the pleasures of the table. Suetonius (in August. LXX.) has preserved the following passage from that sarcastical composition, of which the occasion seems to have been, some of the temples at Rome being struck with lightning, during the celebration of one of these mysterious festivals. The author, he adds, took particular care not to put his name to the performance.

Cùm primùm istorum conduxit mensa choragum, Page 65.
Sexque Deos vidit Mallia, sexque Deas;
Impia dum Phœbi Cæsar mendacia ludit,
Dum nova Divorum cœnat adulteria;
Omnia se à terris tunc numina declinârunt,
Fugit et auratos Jupiter ipse thronos.

The style of expence, as well as the air of concealment, with which these entertainments were attended, did not fail to excite speculation, and sometimes discontent, at Rome; and they were rendered more unpopular, from the circumstance of an extraordinary scarcity, which at that time prevailed. On the day after one of them had been given, the common people bitterly cried out, That the Gods had eaten up all the corn in the city; and that as for Cæsar, he had indeed become Apollo, but it was Apollo the Tormentor; significantly alluding to a statue of the God, under that name, which was placed in the Suburra. *Auxit cœnæ rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames. Acclamatumque est postridie, Frumentum omne Deos comedisse; et Cæsarem planè esse Apollinem, sed Tortorem; quo cognomine is Deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur.* Sueton. ubi sup. See also Martial. Epigram. L. II. 17.

(9.) Dion. Cass. in Vespasian. (Epitom. Xiphilin.) p. 219.

(10.) The Emperor Nerva died, while residing in the Sallustian Gardens (Euseb. Chronic. ad An. Abrah. MMCXIII.), A. D. 97; and Aurelian was so partial to them, that he added to the building a vast portico, or open riding-house, supported by no fewer than a thousand columns, where he daily exercised himself, although his health was on the decline, and to the fatigue (says his biographer) of both himself and his horses. *Miliarensem porticum in Hortis Sallustii ornavit, in qua quotidie et equos et se fatigabat, quamvis esset non bonæ valetudinis.* Vopisc. in Aurel. XLIX. p. 585. The remains of this

Page 65. spacious edifice were clearly traced by Nardini. See Rom. Antic. L. VII. p. 192. Also, Borrich. Imag. Rom. C. VIII.

(11.) RICHARDSON's Remarks, Vol. II. p. 291. Brotier, in Tacit. Annal. L. XIII. 48. in Not. Some of the most important discoveries seem to have been made about the year 1745, in digging in the Villa Verospi.

(12.) THE famous statue, in brass, of the Dying Gladiator, which Pope Clement XII. ordered to be placed in the Capitol. The elder Pliny speaks of this statue with great applause, and very happily celebrates the skill of Ctesilas, the artist who formed it, in being able so strikingly to represent the gladiator, as about to faint from his wounds, while the spectator thought he could discern how rapidly life was ebbing away. *Ctesilas vulneratum deficientem (fecit); ex quo possit intelligi quantùm restet animæ.* Hist. Nat. L. XXXIV. 8. This monument of antient art still remains in the Capitol at Rome; unless it lately have been seized by French rapacity, and transported to Paris.

(13.) THERE were many persons, at Rome, of the name of Papirius; but the one, who was the subject of this beautiful production, was Papirius Prætextatus. He flourished about the middle of the fifth century of the City, and acquired that surname from the following incident, which happened when he was a boy, i. e. while he wore the *Toga Prætexta*, or gown bordered with purple, appropriated to the sons of the nobility, under the age of seventeen years.

Being carried, one day, by his father, as was the custom, to listen to the debates of the Senate, it chanced that business of extraordinary importance was then agitated; and, the further consideration being adjourned to the following day, the house issued an order, that, previously to the close of its proceedings, the subject under discussion

should, on no account, be made public. The mother of Young Papirius enquired, of her son, what news from the Senate? To which the boy gravely replied, that strict secrecy having been enjoined him, he was not at liberty to speak. Struck with the singularity of the answer, she became anxious for information. The caution of the Senate, the order for secrecy, the mysterious veil that seemed to hang over the business, all excited her curiosity: She, therefore, redoubled her entreaties, and pressed the boy with fresh importunity. Papirius at length resolved to gratify her, by inventing a story, which at once displayed his ingenuity, and his humour. The question, says he, my dear mother, now in debate, is indeed of great importance: It is to decide whether, in future, it would be better for the commonwealth, that all the women in Rome should have *two husbands*, or whether the men should have *two wives?* The good matron was struck with consternation; and, going straightway abroad, she summoned a council of her female neighbours, and laid before them the interesting intelligence. On the next day, a deputation of the principal Roman ladies attended the Senate. With tears in their eyes, and the most earnest entreaties, they besought the Fathers, that, since a change in the *law of marriage* must take place, it might be permitted to the women to have two husbands, rather than that the same husband should have two wives. The Senate listened, with amazement, to so strange a petition; nor could they by any means comprehend what frenzy had seized those sober matrons; until young Papirius came forward in the midst, and, frankly confessing what had passed, his mother's importunity, his own silence, and the device to which he had had recourse, unravelled the mystery. Amidst the mirth and caresses of the whole assembly, the honour and ingenuity of the youth were extolled to the skies. A decree immediately passed, that although boys, in future, should not be present at their sittings, an exception should be made in favour of Papirius; which, together with the sur- Page 65.

Page 65. name of Prætextatus, which he in consequence obtained, was the honourable reward of a prudence, and an address beyond his years. *Mos antea Senatoribus Romæ fuit, in curiam cum prætextatis filiis introire. Cùm in Senatu res major quæpiam consultata, eaque in diem posterum prolata est; placuitque ut hanc rem, super qua tractavissent, ne quis enuntiaret priùs quàm decreta esset: Mater Papirii pueri, qui cum parente suo in curiâ fuerat, percunctatur filium quidnam in Senatu Patres egissent? Puer respondit, tacendum esse, neque id dici licere. Mulier sit audiendi cupidior. Secretum rei, et silentium deberi puer affirmans, animum ejus ad inquirendum everberat. Quærit, igitur, compressiùs violentiùsque. Tum puer, matre urgente, lepidi atque festivi mendacii consilium capit. Actum in Senatu dixit, utrùm videretur utilius, magìsque è republicâ esse, unusne ut duas uxores haberet, an ut una apud duos nupta esset? Hoc illa ut audivit, animo compavescit: Domo trepidans egreditur; ad cæteras matronas defert quod audierat. Perveniunt ad Senatum, posterâ die, matrumfamiliâs caterva: Lachrymantes atque obsecrantes orant, una potiùs ut duobus nupta fieret, quàm ut uni duæ. Senatores, ingredientes in curiam, quæ illa mulierum intemperies, et quid sibi postulatio isthæc vellet, mirabantur. Puer Papirius, in medium curiæ progressus, quid mater audire institisset, quid ipse matri dixisset, rem, secuti fuerat, denarrat. Senatus, fidem atque ingenium pueri deosculatus, consultum facit, utì posthac pueri cum patribus in curiam ne introeant, nisi ille unus Papirius; eique puero postea cognomentum, honoris gratiâ, inditum Prætextatus, ob loquendi, tacendique in ætate prætextatâ prudentiam.* Noct. Att. L. I. 23. This law continued in force down to the time of Augustus, who permitted the sons of Senators, of all ages, to hear the debates.

The above anecdote is preserved by Aulus Gellius, from a work of the elder Cato. Although not ill told by that writer, we cannot help uniting with him in the regret, that his not having the book at hand, when he set down the anecdote, has prevented its coming down

to us in the energetic language, and with the humour of the Censor. He tells the story, says Aulus Gellius, with a *venustate, atque luce, atque munditiâ verborum*, that is perfectly delightful. Page 65.

(14.) THE story of Niobe was a subject frequently chosen by the Greek statuaries. The noble group, here alluded to, is composed of figures as large as life, giving the whole history of Niobe and her Children, pierced by the arrows of Apollo and Diana, and, according to Pyrrhus Ligorius, remarkable for its superior workmanship. See M.S. in Bibloth. Vatican. ap. De Brosses, Tom. III. p. 367. This monument of antient art differs from the very valuable one, on the same subject, belonging to the Villa Medici at Rome, which was well known in the time of the elder Pliny, and mentioned by him, with great applause, as the work of Scopas or Praxiteles. See Plin. Hist. Nat. L. XXXVI. 5. Some antiquaries are of opinion, that the fine group, now in the collection of Lord Pembroke at Wilton, is the same that formerly decorated the Sallustian Gardens. Be that as it may, the piece belonging to Lord Pembroke is not like the Niobe in the Villa Medici, that is, a group of several statues, on one base or pedestal, but a great bass-relief, consisting of no fewer than twenty figures, of which fourteen represent the sons, and six, the daughters of Niobe.—There have been found, besides, various monuments of sculpture, in this celebrated spot, such as the beautiful group of Mars and Venus, commonly known by the name of the Gladiator and Faustina, and many others.

What is here said of the situation of these remains of antiquity, is to be understood only as applicable to them, previous to the late pillage of Italy. Of the success, that has attended the French, in removing them to Paris, a correct estimate cannot yet be made; although we may easily believe, that there is no undertaking of the kind, whether practicable or impracticable, that might not be attempted, where national or individual vanity is concerned, by that extra-

Page 65. ordinary people. During their first visit to Rome, a scheme was actually in contemplation *(un projet)*, and laid before the officer commanding in the place, to take down Trajan's Pillar, and transport it to Paris!! a scheme, which fortunately was never carried into effect. Since the days of Alaric, the French are certainly the only invaders, who have made war on learning and the arts. Yet the disadvantage of no longer being able to behold the monuments of antient genius on that *classic ground*, which so peculiarly belongs to them, is the least evil, of which we have to complain. It would be comparatively of less moment, if the same monuments, which were formerly at Florence, at Verona, or at Rome, were now all to be found in London or Paris. But, besides the injury, which many of them have suffered from the transportation alone, a very great proportion are no where to be found at all, and have completely disappeared from the public view. Individuals, who were afraid, or ashamed of the extent of their Italian plunder, were glad to destroy, or to conceal it, or, at all events, to get rid of it to the first bidder. In this manner, we are assured that many private collections have been formed or enriched, since the invasion of Italy, with works that no longer can be accessible to the public; and thus, what was of inestimable value to the artist, or the scholar, has been either irretrievably lost, or dispersed over Europe.

(15.) EXCEPT some pieces, preserved in Herculaneum and Pompeii, there are few or no specimens of antient painting, besides what have been discovered in the Gardens of Sallust. The three, here mentioned in the text, were, before the irruption of the French savages, in the Barberini palace at Rome. The Venus is as large as life, painted *in fresco*, and beautiful in point both of design and colouring. By a letter, addressed to the learned Heinsius, we learn that it was dug up in 1655. Carlo Maratti repaired the principal figure, and retouched the little Cupids that surround it. Rome Triumphant, the next piece,

is represented by a female figure, in a sitting posture, holding, in her right-hand, a small picture of Victory, accompanied with various other representations of men and birds. Michel de la Chausse has given a tolerable engraving of it, as a frontispiece to his *Musæum Romanum*. In respect to the group called the *Nymphæum*, it appears to have been a painting of inferior merit to the two others, at least if we may judge from the engraving which has been preserved of it by Holstenius: But the painting itself, by exposure to the air, is long since effaced. Page 66. 67.

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(16.) THAT is, about the middle of the sixth century. See Gibbon, Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Vol. V. p. 318. 8vo Edit.

(17.) STRAB. Geog. L. V. p. 238.—Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. L. V. p. 226.

(18.) CIC. Declam. in Sallust. VII. *His palam refelle* (cries the Declaimer), *unde tu, qui modò ne paternam quidem domum redimere potueris, repentè, tanquam somnio beatus, hortos pretiosissimos, et villam Tiburti, C. Cæsaris reliquas possessiones, paraveris.* See likewise Crinit. in Vit. Sallust.

(19.) PET. CRINIT. in Vit. Sallust.—De Brosses, Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. p. 370.

(20.) HORACE was about thirty-one years of age, at the time of Sallust's death.

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(21.) SEE the charming Odes of Horace, L. I. 7., II. 6., and IV. 3. In the Ode first mentioned, after comparing his favourite Tibur, and the Albunean Lake, to the most beautiful scenes of antiquity, to-

Page 67. Rhodes and Mitylene, to Ephesus, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and even to the far-famed vale of the Thessalian Tempe, he declares,

Me nec tam patiens Lacedæmon,
Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ,
Quàm domus Albuneæ resonantis,
Et Præceps Anio, et Tiburni lucus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.

This Ode is addressed to L. Munacius Plancus, brother to T. Plancus Bursa, who was Sallust's colleague in office, during his Tribuneship. In the sixth Ode of the second Book, so well known to the scholar, on account of its pathetic beauty, and addressed, by Horace, to his friend Septimius the poet, he dwells, once more, on the romantic scenery, and local advantages of his Tiburtine villa. He prays that this delightful residence may only be preserved to him, as the retreat of his old age; and that, should his friend chance to survive him, he may there drop the sincere, and tributary tear upon his grave.

Tibur, Argæo positum colono,
Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ;
Sit modus lasso maris, et viarum,
Militiæque . .
Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet; ubi non Hymetto
Mella decedunt, viridique certat
Bacca Venafro;
Ver ubi longum, tepidasque præbet
Jupiter brumas, et amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimùm Falernis
Invidet uvis.
Ille te mecum locus et beatæ
Postulant arces: ibi tu calentem
Debitâ sparges lachrymâ favillam
Vatis amici.

The remains of Horace's house, as well as of the more magnificent villa of Mæcenas, are still shown to strangers, near the gate of Tivoli, leading to Rome. Both Strabo (Geog. L. V. p. 238.) and Dionysius Halicarnassensis (Antiq. Rom. L. V. 226.) have described the beauty of the place, and the magnificent cascade, formed by the Anio, before it descends into the plain, and falls into the Tiber.—I know, that an attempt has, of late, been made to prove, that the celebrated Villa of Horace was not at Tivoli, but nine miles above it, on a small stream called the Licensa, formerly the Digentia, in the country of the Sabines. See Moore's Travels in Italy. The point seems completely to be decided by Suetonius, who tells us, that Horace lived mostly in his Sabine, o Tiburtine retirement *(In secessu ruris sui Sabini, aut Tiburtini.* Vit. Horat.); that is, that the place might be in either territory, from its being near the confines of both. But he immediately adds, that the poet's house was "*then* shown at Tibur;" as it, in fact, is at this day. Page 67.

(22.) Le Clerc seizes this occasion to vent his usual spleen against the luxurious habits, without so much as mentioning the industry of the historian. *Qua ratione vitam postea (i. e. post reditum ex Africâ) traduxerit Sallustius, nobis non liquet. Credibile est, ornandæ domui, exstruendis villis, deliciisque undequaque sibi parandis, occupatum fuisse.* See Vit. Sallust. ver. fin. M. Meisner, who reverentially follows his master Le Clerc, *improves* upon this idea; for, in describing the progress of Sallust's education, he allows him only to have dedicated his spare hours *(seine Nebenstunden)* to science or literature. Application, he says, amidst such horrible profligacy, he never could have possessed; but his want of diligence was compensated by the felicity of his genius. *Das einzige löbliche Beginnen in seiner Jugend ist, dass er frühe schon den Wissenschaften obgelegen zu haben scheint. Sie können freilich nur die Beschäftigung*

Page 68. 69. *seiner Nebenstunden ausgemacht haben; aber sein glückliches Talent ersezte was seinem Fleisse abgieng.* Leben. des Sall. p. 2.

(23.) SALLUST. Bel. Catilin. II. & Jugurthin. II.

(24.) *SIN, captus (animus) pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam, et voluptates corporis pessumdatus est, perniciosâ lubidine paullisper usus, ubi per secordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere,* &c. Sallust. Bel. Jugurthin. I.

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(25.) THE wisest of mankind prayed to have "neither poverty, nor riches," but to be "fed with food convenient for him" (Prov. Ch. XXX. 8.); and Horace decidedly expresses the same sentiment:

Jurè perhorrui
Latè conspicuum tollere verticem ...
Bene est, cui Deus obtulit
Parcâ, quod satìs est, manu.
Carm. L. III. 16.

(26.) *UBI mihi reliquam ætatem à republicâ procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium secordiâ atque desidiâ bonum otium conterere .. Magnæ divitiæ, et alia hujusmodi omnia, brevi dilabuntur .. Quò mihi rectiùs videtur, ingenii, quàm opium viribus, gloriam quærere; et, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostri quàm maximè longam efficere.* Sallust. Bel. Catilin. I. & IV. Jugurthin. II.

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(27.) IN this triumph Le Clerc joins, of course, with extraordinary complacency. *Ita ut saluberrimis præceptis* (says he), *quæ in historiis tradiderat, exemplo suo, vim pondusque detrahere pergeret.* Then, exultingly calling in the aid of Seneca, to reinforce his argument, he

thus concludes: *Idem fecit, quod plerique philósophorum, "disertorum* Page 70. *in convicium suum, quos si audias in avaritiam, in libidinem, in ambitionem perorantes, indicium professos putes, adeò redundant ad ipsos maledictâ in publicum missa."* See Cleric. in Vit. Sallust. sub fin.—Sen. ap. Lactant. L. III. 15.

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(28.) THE critics are not at all agreed as to the manner, in which Sallust composed his great history. As he tells us that his original design was to take up "detached" portions of time *(res gestas carptim scribere)*, so, Scaliger first, and Le Clerc after him, have conceived, that he never departed from that method. In support of their opinion, they quote a passage from Ausonius, where the poet, intending to regulate his grandson's studies, thus speaks of the order, in which the works of Sallust are to be read by him:

> Jam facinus, Catilina, tuum, Lepidique tumultum;
> Ab Lepido et Catulo, jam res et tempora Romæ
> Orsus, bis senos seriem connecto per annos.
> Jam lege civile mistum Mavorte duellum,
> Movit quód socio Sertorius exsul Ibero.
>
> Idyll. IV. 61. Edit. ad us. Delph.

All these, therefore, they consider as separate histories, published, in the order here stated by the poet, and afterwards reduced into Books, and arranged in a chronological series, by the Grammarians. See Cleric. Vit. Sallust. This, however, is by no means conclusive evidence. Among other things, it might be asked, in a correct enumeration of Sallust's writings, why Ausonius entirely omitted the Jugurthine War? M. de Brosses, who has considered the subject with greater attention than either of the critics above mentioned, and has even supplied, with much labour and erudition, the lost work of the historian, has completely cleared up the point. Although he entitles

Page 71. his composition only a "History of Rome, from Sylla's Dictatorship, to the Expedition of Pompey against Mithridates," yet he very properly opens it with a comprehensive review of the transactions that intervened, between the close of the Jugurthine War, and the death of the Dictator. The narrative terminates with the retirement of Lucullus, in 687 (during the Consulship of Volcatius Tullus, and Æmilius Lepidus), and unites the Conspiracy of Catiline with the Jugurthine War. See Œuv. de Sall. Tom. I. pp. 215. 222. 225. 226.—Tom. III. p. 381. This, therefore, is what I have stated in the text, in more particular terms.

(29.) The Grammarians, and other authors, by whom the Fragments we have of Sallust's History have been preserved, universally quote as far as *Five* Books. The Fragments of the Sixth, as they stand in all editions, are, by the best critics, supposed to be nothing more than an assemblage of the various passages cited, without particular reference, and for that reason thrown together, by the editors, into a Book by themselves. It must, however, be acknowledged, in examining these remains, that we find mention is twice made of a Seventh, once of a Ninth, and once of an Eleventh Book.

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(30.) *Nemini dubium est, Sallustium plures majoresque historiarum libros scripsisse, qui, partim temporum injuriâ, partim invidiâ hominum, jamdudum periere. Neque absurdum est indè suspicari, si bellum Jugurthinum, quod ipse non vidit, et tamen Romanis suis ità diligenter notavit, ea quoque memoriæ mandasse, quæ suo tempore potissimùm contigere; quemadmodum contentionem inter Marium Syllamque ortam,* &c. . . *Quare haud facilè creditu, tam diligentem historicum hæc Romana omisisse. Sed hanc, pro dolor, jacturam debemus, aut Gothis et Vandalis, orbis devastatoribus, aut Ciceronianis vel Livianis, Sallustio infensissimis.* See Q. Estaug. in Judic. Sallust.

(31.) It appears, that the Great History of Sallust certainly existed Page 72. in the seventh century, and, probably, much later. Isidorus, who was Bishop of Seville, A. D. 601, is, perhaps, the last author, of whom we can certainly affirm, that he had an opportunity of quoting from it. Petrarch, who lived in the fourteenth century, and died A. D. 1374, says of Sallust; *Bellum Jugurthinum, Conjurationemque Catilinæ, compendioso, et ad unguem, ut dici solet, castigato stylo complexus est; sed nullo famosior, quàm Historiarum libro, qui ætati quoque nostro, ne certam ejus sileam dedecus, amissus est; veterum quidem testimonio illustris, apud nos solo jam nomine superstes.* See Petrarch. in Judic. Sallust. And the loss has been the more severely felt, that the works of all the historians (as I have already noticed), who have given a general history of Roman affairs, are deficient in regard to the period in question.

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(32.) On this subject even the virulence of Le Clerc is softened, and he seems, for once, to feel the generous enthusiasm of a scholar. Would to heaven (he exclaims) that the History of Sallust had fortunately been preserved to us! The Fragments of it, that remain, are such, as keenly to excite the thirst of curiosity, without being able to quench it. *Quæ, utinam (historia), sanè exstaret! Fragmenta enim ejus sitim nostram excitant, non restinguunt.* Vit. Sallust.

(33.) Euseb. Chronic. ad An. Abrah. MDCCCCLXXXII. i. e. A. C. 35.

(34.) Authors strangely differ as to Sallust's age, at the time of his death; although they all seem to refer to the Chronicle of Eusebius. Crinitus, Rowe, Harwood, and others, say that he lived to sixty-two. Le Clerc, who is the most inaccurate of the whole, in point of chronology, although he quotes Eusebius for the birth of the

Page 73. historian, and calls it A. U. C. 669, and likewise quotes the same author for his death, as an event that took place, four years before the battle of Actium, i. e. A. 718; nevertheless, he states that Sallust reached the age of *seventy!* See Cleric. Vit. Sallust. vers. fin.

(35.) TACIT. Annal. L. III. 30.

(36.) TACIT. Annal. L. I. 6. & L. III. 30.

(37.) IT was under his direction, and by the dark intrigues of the Empress Livia, that Agrippa Posthumus, the grandson of Augustus, was cut off, while in exile in the island of Planasia. See Tacit. Annal. L. I. 6.—Dion. Cass. L. LVII. 413. This happened during the first year of the reign of Tiberius: And, afterwards, when the slave Clemens endeavoured to excite a rebellion, by personating the murdered prince, Sallustius Crispus, with equal address and boldness, again relieved his master from anxiety, by circumventing and putting to death the impostor. See Tacit. Annal. L. II. 39.

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(38.) TACITUS, with his usual strength of colouring, has given a good picture of the temper and habits of the younger Sallust. "The austerity of antient manners (says that historian) was not his taste. In his apparel and equipage, he was gay and costly: In his style of living, fond of elegance, and even of luxury. Uniting in his character very opposite qualities, he was, at once, a man of pleasure, and a statesman of consummate ability. The vigour of his mind, though often relaxed in indolence, was such as qualified him for the most arduous affairs. When occasion called, he returned to business with an elastic spring, that showed he gained new strength from inactivity." Murph. Transl. *Diversus à veterum instituto, per cultum et munditias; copiâque et affluentiâ, luxu propior: Suberat tamen vigor*

animi, ingentibus negotiis par; eò acrior, quò somnum et inertiam magìs Page 74.
ostentabat. Annal. L. III. 30. Mr Murphy, I think, in this admirable translation of the passage, seems rather to have misapprehended the last clause of the sentence. It should have been, "When occasion called, he returned to business with an elastic spring, which seemed the more powerful, as it was usually concealed under an exterior of inactivity."

At one period, he applied himself successfully to the arts, and was the inventor of a composition, in imitation of the famous Corinthian Metal, which continued for some time in fashion, and from him was denominated the Sallustian. See Plin. Histor. Natural. L. XXXIV. 2. Sallustius Crispus died at a great age, in the sixth year of Tiberius, A. U. C. 773, and A. D. 20. Tacit. Annal. L. III. 30.

(39.) SEE the Frontispiece to the present work.

(40.) THESE Medals, according to M. de Brosses, are five in number, although, in the plate annexed to his book, three only are delineated. The first was taken, by himself, from the cabinet of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; the two next are given by Fulvius Ursinus; the fourth by Gronovius, in his Antiquities of Greece; and the fifth by Charles Patin, from the cabinet of Morosini, at Venice. From the wretched style of the execution of these coins, I have not considered them as worth preserving in the present work; and they may be all pretty certainly referred to the fourth and fifth century of our æra, when several eminent individuals, of the House of the Sallustii, rose to the highest offices of the state. See Note 45. posth.

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(41.) SEE p. 54. of this Essay, and Note 69.

(42.) JUL. Opera, p. 240—252; where the Emperor laments the

Page 75. loss of so valuable a friend and instructor. See also La Bleterie, Pref. à la Vie de Jovien, p. 20. When this Sallust was Consul, A. D. 363, he had the Emperor for his colleague in office. See Fast. Consular. ad A. U. 1115.

(43.) AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. L. XXI. 8.—XXV. 3.

(44.) ID. L. XXV. 5. & L. XXVI. 1. 2.—Also, Zosim. L. III. p. 198. Edit. Oxon.

(45.) THIS annotation, which stands at the end of the 9th Book of the Metamorphoses of Apuleius, is as follows: *Ego Sallustius legi et emendavi, Rome felix, Olibio et Probino* IIC. *Cons., in Foro Martis controversias declamans Oratori Endelechio. Rursus Constantinopoli recognovi, Cæsario et Attico Cons.* And at the end of most of the other Books there is, *Ego Sallustius legi et emendavi, Rome felix.* M. de Brosses supposes, from the Lombard characters, in which these M.SS. of Tacitus and Apuleius are written, that they must belong to the XIth century, when they were copied from others of the IVth, which was the age of the Sallust in question. In his account, however, of the different persons of this name, M. de Brosses does not seem sufficiently to distinguish the Præfect and Governor of Gaul, nor to have known that he was Consul A. D. 362, i. e. A. U. C. 1115.

Page 77.

(46.) *PROFECTÒ ita res se habet: Majorum gloria posteris lumen est; neque bona eorum, neque mala in occulto patitur.* Bel. Jugurthin. LXXXVIII.

(47.) SEE Note 97. p. 202. anteh.

(48.) DR JOHNSON, in his Rambler, No. 77. has some striking

observations on the absurdity of expecting that an author should always be able to act up to his writings. After contrasting the purity of the standard, which is necessary for morals, with the weakness inseparable from man, he thus expresses himself: "He, by whose writings the heart is rectified, the appetites counteracted, and the passions repressed, may be considered as not unprofitable to the great republic of humanity, even although his behaviour should not always exemplify his rules. His instructions may diffuse their influence to regions, in which it will not be required whether the author be *albus an ater*, good or bad; to times, when all his faults, and all his follies shall be lost in forgetfulness, among things of no concern, or importance in the world: And he may kindle, in thousands and ten thousands, that flame, which burnt but dimly in himself, through the fumes of passion, or the damps of cowardice." Page 77.

Whatever may have been the injustice of former times, in regard to Sallust, it is pleasing to find, that it is now giving way to more liberal sentiments. A late translator of one of the Latin Classics, in a review of Roman literature, which he has introduced into his work, speaks in the following terms, concerning the character of our author. "It seems to be the desire of Sallust to atone for the dissipation of his youth, by a total change of conduct; and whoever peruses his exordiums with the attention they deserve, must feel a strong persuasion of the justness of his remarks, if not the incentives of a resolution to be governed by his example. It seems to be certain, that, from the first moment of his reformation, he incessantly practised the industry, which he so warmly recommends." See Dr Thomson's Suetonius, p. 204.

END OF THE NOTES ON ESSAY FIRST.

ESSAY SECOND.

ON THE LITERARY CHARACTER, AND WRITINGS OF SALLUST, AND OTHER MATTER CONNECTED WITH THE SUBJECT.

ESSAY SECOND.

ON THE LITERARY CHARACTER, AND WRITINGS

OF

SALLUST,

&c.

Rise of literature and the fine arts among the Romans.

Of the nations, which have figured in the history of mankind, there is no one, that attained the same height of power and grandeur as the Romans, with an equal ignorance of learning and the arts. It was not till more than five hundred years after the foundation of Rome, that they began at all to be cultivated; a period, which corresponds to about two centuries before our era, when Carthage was at length subdued, and Greece had finally submitted to the Roman arms (1). The incomparable productions of the former people, both in arts and letters, were then imported into Italy, where they soon excited the notice, and at length the imitation, of their haughty conquerors.

About the middle of the sixth century of the city, Rome was first adorned, by Marcellus, with specimens of painting

and sculpture, brought thither from Syracuse, and by Scipio, from Africa. Flaminius, the younger Africanus, and Mummius, by their Carthaginian and Greek victories, added to the stock; while Paulus Æmilius enjoyed the glory of preferring the library to the treasures of a Macedonian king (2). The most celebrated works, whether of art or literature, that lay scattered over Greece, Spain, Italy, or Africa, were thus collected to the capital of the world; and the wish seemed universal, by an unbounded applause, to compensate for the neglect, with which they had hitherto been regarded (3).

WITH models before their eyes so exquisite and various, it is not wonderful that the refinement of the Romans, though late, was rapid in its progress. The united testimony, however, of Cicero, Virgil, and Horace, tends to confirm us in the belief, that their disposition to the fine arts was greatly inferior to that, by which the Greeks, their masters, were distinguished (4). That unequalled people continued, during a considerable space of time, in a most enviable condition, alike distant from early barbarism, and excessive corruption, in which wealth and dominion were neither possessed nor coveted. The Romans, on the other hand, knew scarcely any interval between the rusticity and ignorance of their virtuous ages, and that avarice and luxury, which followed the possession of unrivalled empire.

Their language originally a dialect of the Greek.

IN this condition of the Romans, their language was soon polished on the model of the Greek, and by a natural recurrence to the source, from whence it sprung (5). Since the first peopling of Italy from Arcadia, and even since the migration

of its wandering tribes, at the time of the Trojan War, many ages had elapsed (6), during which the Latin dialect of the Greek had little advanced, and had continually fluctuated. That it was originally Pelasgic the best historians and antiquaries are agreed; but what revolutions it underwent, after being imported into Latium it is impossible to ascertain, and were therefore fruitless to enquire. Some writers are of opinion, that it was polluted with a great intermixture of Oscan, and other barbarous dialects. However this may be, it is certain that, so late as the eighth century of the city, the Latin dialect of the Greek was still studied by the curious, and, for the most part, consisted of the Æolic (7). Unlike the parent tongue, which was early fixed by the immortal compositions of Homer, that of Rome continued in a very variable state (8.) Its irregular, though vigorous growth, its defective analogies, and anomalous cast, evince a descent from that stock, greatly prior to the age of cultivation; and as clearly intimate the incongruous genius of the different tribes, assembled by Romulus within the walls of Rome (9).

Rapid progress of Latin poetry.

THE first literary efforts of the Romans, like those of all nations, were in poetry, which, in something less than a hundred years, was carried to a considerable height. Livius Andronicus, Nævius, and Ennius led the way, and excelled in epic, as well as dramatic writing (10). Pacuvius and Accius (11), Plautus, Cæcilius, and Afranius quickly followed, the delight and ornament of the stage; while Terence, the friend of Scipio and Lælius, displayed a model of ease and purity in his productions, scarcely afterwards attained, and certainly never surpassed, in happier periods of their literature (12).

From the time of Terence, who polished the Latin poetry, to that of Horace and Virgil, in whose hands it was carried to perfection, there elapsed about a hundred and thirty years; and the interval was illustrated by the tenderness of Catullus, the vehemence of Lucilius, and the vigour and sublimity of Lucretius, Rabirius, and Varro (13).

Eloquence not cultivated at Rome until a late period.

AMIDST these advances, prose composition continued in neglect and barbarism. It is with the progress of communities, as with that of individuals: While the imagination attains to strength, the judgment scarce escapes from the feebleness of infancy. Under a popular government, like that of Rome, we might imagine that eloquence, at least, would have been distinguished by an early, as well as a rapid cultivation; were it not observable, among most nations, where the art has shone forth with the brightest lustre, that it is usually among the latest in arriving at perfection (14). Accordingly, Cato the Censor, and Lælius and Scipio, the cotemporaries of Terence, were the first speakers, who could be said to rise above mediocrity (15). About three-score years after, Antonius and Crassus formed a new era in Latin eloquence; when, towards the end of the seventh century, Cicero arose; who, together with a crowd of illustrious rivals, with Hortensius and Calvus, with Cœlius, Cæsar, and Callidius, had the glory of rivalling the most successful efforts of the Grecian genius (16).

WHILE the field of eloquence exhibited, at Rome, such diligence of culture, it is a remarkable circumstance, that there was yet a rich portion of the soil, which scarcely had attracted the notice of the husbandman. History, the department to

which I allude, had, in its progress in Greece, at least kept pace with other species of composition; and nearly the same age, that had seen a Sophocles, or a Pindar, had been illustrated by an Herodotus, and a Thucydides. Cicero, who studied, with deep attention, the character and talents of both nations, sufficiently accounts for so striking a difference. From him we learn, that, at Rome, the study of eloquence was at no time separated from the pursuits of ambition. He, who cultivated the former, had solely in view the business of the Forum, and to rise, at the bar, above the level of his rivals. With the Greeks, on the other hand, the distinction was much earlier made, between active and speculative life. That elegant people studied eloquence alike in the scenes of business, and the shades of privacy; and they applied it, with success, to the embellishment of History, and to the objects of philosophy and science (17).

Origin of Historical composition in Greece.

About seven hundred years after the taking of Troy, and nearly four hundred and fifty before the Christian era, Herodotus, who has been justly denominated the Father of History, first began to ornament, and elevate its style (18). Previously to his time, in hands such as those of Hecatæus and Hellanicus, it had displayed nothing more than the records of a barren chronicle (19). The style of Herodotus was artless, yet elegant, according to the habits of thinking, and the manners of an uncultivated age: Yet, by the happy modulation of the Ionic dialect, it gratified the ear, and afforded, to the states of Greece, assembled together at the Olympic Games, a pleasing mixture of entertainment and instruction.

To this venerable writer Thucydides erelong succeeded (20). Xenophon appeared in something less than half a century after (21); and by these two, but particularly by the former, History was advanced to the greatest height of excellence, that it ever attained in its native climate.

Rude attempts of the Romans to record public transactions.

OF all the inventions, which were borrowed from Greece, this, perhaps, was the one, that experienced the highest melioration, after having been transplanted from the parent soil. From the earliest times, among the Romans, the Pontifex Maximus was the official Historian of the republic. That holy magistrate had it in charge to make a yearly register of civil transactions; and these records, from the circumstance of their periodical compilement, were denominated Annals. In a book, kept for the purpose, each particular occurrence was carefully entered: It was exposed, without disguise, to the inspection of the public; and the practice continued down to the days of Mucius Scævola, who held the high office in question, and was slain in the massacre of Cinna and Marius (22).

SUCH was the origin of the Annal at Rome. In its form it was artless and simple. It had little connexion to recommend, and no ornament to enliven it. Truth alone was supposed to give perfection to historical efforts.

Fabius Pictor the first Latin Historian.

ABOUT the commencement of the sixth century of the city, Fabius Pictor undertook, from the Pontifical registers, to draw up a regular narrative of the transactions of his country (23); and the elder Cato and Piso soon after followed him in the same track (24). These essays were crude and unpolished.

Cato the Censor—Piso.

Like the records, from whence they sprung, they contained a mere mass of facts, collected without skill, and digested without regularity. The authors, who had preserved not only the name, but the form and essence of the Annal, soon saw that it was attended with all the evils of excessive length. As occurrences multiplied, brevity of expression became the next resource; by which, as they imagined, they would cover every defect, and, the more they condensed the matter, they would enhance its excellence (25).

Antipater.

In about a century after this period, Antipater materially improved on the labours of his predecessors. This writer was deeply skilled in the science of the law; He was contemporary with the Gracchi, and the master of Licinius Crassus, the celebrated orator, and other eminent men of that day (26). To the tedious sameness of the Annal the powers of Antipater gave spirit and expression: Instead of dulness he substituted elevation of sentiment; instead of insipidity, considerable strength of diction. Justly regarded as the forerunner of Sallust, he rose superior to all who had gone before, and even to some who succeeded him. Although his virtues were of a rougher cast; although he was without pretensions to accuracy, or the graces of a polished style, he may be said to have designed with boldness, and left the outline to be filled up by an abler master (27).

Sisenna.

In regard to Sisenna, the contemporary of Sylla and Marius, little need be said. As Cicero informs us, he was deficient in eloquence, and still more deficient in learning. To excel his predecessors was but little praise, since he did not escape

the insipidity, for which they generally were conspicuous (28).

NOTWITHSTANDING these efforts, History continued to languish, and was still infinitely short of its Grecian archetype. Lutatius Catulus, one of the most pleasing poets, and accomplished orators of his time (29), made some attempts to add grace and purity to the undisciplined vigour of Antipater. Hortensius, Atticus, and the elder Varro, next tried their talents (30): Yet, in spite of the merit of those authors in other departments of literature, they were here feeble or inelegant, as Cicero, their common friend, frankly acknowledges (31). Chronological precision, and laborious diligence, seem to have been their highest praise; and they were not, in his judgment, the men destined to erect an altar, which should be worthy of the historic muse. That he himself meditated the attempt, is abundantly plain from various parts of his writings. That he never carried it into effect, was regretted in his own times; and the loss has been felt, and lamented by posterity (32).

Lutatius Catulus.

Hortensius—Atticus—Varro.

IT was in this condition of History at Rome that Sallust appeared, to communicate to it a new character. Not content with transfusing, into his own language, the force and brevity of Thucydides's style, he aspired to an improvement in the matter, beyond the Greek historian, and of which the merit has been attested by succeeding ages.

Sallust improves on the plan of the Greek historians. He applies Philosophy to the purposes of History.

HISTORY, in its rudest state, was obviously designed to unite the advantages of pleasure and instruction. By a faithful record of past events, while it gratified curiosity, it enlarged

experience, and thus enabled men to form some probable conjectures concerning the future. Previously to the time of Sallust, even among the Greeks, historians seem to have confined themselves to the first-mentioned object. History, says Dionysius Halicarnassensis, is philosophy teaching, by examples (33); an expression, which must be considered rather as a happy thought in the elegant critic of Halicarnassus, than as any notion he entertained of a practical application of the philosophy of the mind, and the principles of science, to the purposes of history; to the investigation of causes, or to the study of facts. By exhibiting the steps, which led to vice or virtue, to prosperity or misfortune, the antient historians perceived, that the one might be promoted, and the other avoided, with greater probability of success: Yet their main aim was a pleasing narrative of civil events, such as should at once delight, and impress the imagination.

The form of the dialogue, introduced by Herodotus, was soon laid aside, as fitted only for the drama. In an age, when public speaking was the means, by which public business was transacted, it was natural, that the speeches of consummate statesmen or generals should become, not only an appropriate decoration, but a dignified department, of History. The historian could not be said to have called philosophy to his aid; and his chief merit consisted in splendid eloquence, in animated description, and in flowing language. Cicero, in speaking of the rude, in contradistinction to the skilful historian, accordingly observes, that the former was nothing more than a narrator of facts, while the latter could give ornament and animation to his narrative (34).

But the genius of Sallust prompted him to take a wider range, and to introduce an important improvement. This consisted in an attempt to penetrate the human heart, and to explore, in its recesses, the true springs, that actuate the conduct of men. By a study of character, he perceived, that habits and propensities might be traced to their source; that secret motives, and busy passions might often be seen at work, and the whole mind, as it were, laid open and anatomized, by the acute observer. Moral effects could thus be connected with their probable internal, as well as external causes, and a useful consistency established among events, which, on a superficial survey, seemed accidental or anomalous, and were therefore unaccountable to the common eye.

With these views, our author was the first historian, who enriched his compositions with a regular delineation of character. By pourtraying the actors upon the stage of public business, he fairly introduced them to the acquaintance of the reader; who was thence enabled to compare their conduct with their motives, and to weigh their interest against their passions. He was the first, also, who employed the colours of eloquence in enforcing moral lessons, or knew, with judgment, to suspend his narrative, to make room for political reflections, or for moral speculation; steering equally clear, in this useful design, of the boundless digressions of Polybius, and the unvarying narrative, introduced by his predecessors. To the antient division of History into two parts, the Narrative and the Speeches, two more were now added by our author, namely, the Reflections and the Characters; thereby rendering the composition as perfect and interesting, as was consistent

with the then condition of political experience, and the limited intercourse, that subsisted between the nations of the earth. The new direction, given to the art by Sallust, in process of time suggested the idea of improving it on more enlarged principles, and has entitled him to veneration, as the FATHER OF PHILOSOPHIC HISTORY.

The improvement erroneously ascribed to Tacitus.

FROM the cursory view, which has been thus given, of the rise and progress of the historical art, both in Greece and Rome, previously to the age of Sallust, it appears evident that that writer, and not Tacitus, was the *first*, who thought of applying "the science of philosophy to the study of facts." Fully to apprehend how public transactions are affected by collateral causes, was not to be expected from either historian; nor yet to perceive, how greatly they depend on the progress of a people in religion and government, in manners and in arts. Notwithstanding, it is certain, that it was the genius of Sallust, which broke through the trammels of the antient narrative, and pointed out the road, whereby observation and industry, though in a distant age, have been enabled to advance to higher excellence. May we not, then, account it strange that modern critics, and those, too, of the most distinguished name, should have laboured to deprive him of the honours of invention (35)? Of Tacitus, on whom they chuse to lavish them, it may be said, that he was *Ultimus Romanorum*, unquestionably the last Roman writer of vigour or ability (36). But neither their partiality to a favourite author, nor his claim to a share of genius so superior to his age, should have induced them to transfer the praise of originality, from

the first historian of Rome, as he was justly accounted (37), and bestow it on a late, though a meritorious imitator.

Division of the subject into Three Parts.

In recording the lives of those, who have added to human learning, the chief object, without doubt, is an account of their Writings. To ascertain their dates, to analyze their character, to examine the various circumstances, which have promoted their fame, or aided their execution; this, in a great measure, forms the history of literature. In the foregoing Essay, some pains have been bestowed to collect and verify the scanty particulars, that remain, of the life of a great historian. At present, an attempt shall be made, in the First place, to defend the true Chronology of his works, a subject which may give rise to some controversy; in the Second place, to appreciate his Literary merits, an enquiry that has been darkened by considerable prejudice; and, Lastly, to subjoin a short account of the most remarkable Editions of Sallust, and of the success of those authors, who have translated his remains into the languages of Europe.

Most probable Chronology of Sallust's writings.

I. M. Le Clerc, as far as I know, was the first of Sallust's biographers, who, in the Life of the historian so often mentioned, undertook critically to ascertain the chronological order of his works. This piece, which, since the days of its author, has guided the opinions of the learned, appears to me to have been rated above its value. The deference, that is paid to a distinguished name, however, is a natural feeling; and in enquiries of any sort, it is always easier to copy errour, than calmly and patiently to investigate the truth. It was the strain of virulent invective, and determined prejudice, in which

his Life of Sallust is apparently composed, that first led me to doubt of the soundness of the Genevese critic; and, on a closer investigation, I am convinced, that there is as little ground to rely on the authenticity of his facts, as on the justness of his opinions.

In accounts of the Greek, or Roman writers, much minuteness of information is not to be expected. The distance of the times, as well as the fate which has attended antient learning, forces us to be content with probability of conjecture; and it is almost on this ground alone, that we can pretend to determine the chronology of Sallust's works. In the foregoing Essay, his final retirement from public business is stated as the most likely period, when his historical writings were composed. About the close of the year of Rome 708, Sallust returned from his Numidian government. In the following season, he had lost his powerful patron, and best friend, the Dictator. All ambitious prospects being therefore at an end, he resolved to dedicate the remainder of his days to intellectual pursuits, and philosophical retirement.

An opinion, very opposite to this, is maintained by M. Le Clerc, in which, as in other things, he has been pretty generally followed. He supposes, that the Conspiracy of Catiline was written by Sallust, about the year of Rome 703, when he went out of office as Tribune of the People. The composition of the Jugurthine War is fixed to the same period, as well as that of the entire series of Civil Wars, which Sallust's great History comprised, and of which nothing now remains

Le Clerc's opinion controverted.

but a few Fragments (38). In support of these conjectures, the only reason assigned seems to be the favourable light, in which the conduct of Cicero, in Catiline's Conspiracy, is represented by the historian, in consequence, as it is inferred, of the recent reconciliation brought about between them, on Milo's trial. But any argument, that can be drawn from the temper of Sallust, is far from being conclusive, for this particular era. On the contrary, it might, with much more justice, be adduced, to support an opposite hypothesis, and to give weight to the sentiment, maintained in the former Essay.

Of the greatest orator of his age, Sallust, in Catiline's Conspiracy, certainly speaks with no enthusiastic rapture (39). He neither seizes the opportunity of opposing him to Demosthenes, nor does he compare his powers with those of Hortensius, or of Cæsar. Even the title of "Father of his Country," so gloriously bestowed on him, is passed by with a cold, and guarded silence. His Consulship, nevertheless, is characterized as an administration both able and upright; and himself as a magistrate, of whom it is impossible to speak with too much praise (40). If this is not the language of virulent opposition, neither is it that of recent reconcilement. If it prove any thing, it rather goes to show, that the sentiment belongs to a much later era in the life of the writer, *Quum neque homini, neque temporibus iratus,* when his passions had cooled, and his animosities had subsided. Sallust lived till several years after the death of Cicero (41): Such feelings, therefore, may be reasonably supposed to actuate the former, when an illustrious rival had passed away from the stage of life, and was beyond the reach of censure, or of praise.

In peremptorily assigning the above mentioned chronology to the writings of Sallust, M. Le Clerc seems to have forgotten, that a still greater objection lay against his hypothesis, namely, the want of the *time*, that was requisite, for the composition of works of such magnitude and variety, as those of our author. Early in December 702, he must have laid down his office of Tribune of the People; for the year then expired; and in 704, as Le Clerc himself tells us, on being ejected from the Senate, he set out for Gaul, and joined the army of Cæsar. Thus, little more than *a twelve-month* is allowed for his retirement; during which he must have written, not only the Conspiracy of Catiline, and the Jugurthine War, but the general history of Rome, for at least three-score years!

The fact is, there are but two periods in the life of Sallust, in which it seems possible for his historical works to have been composed; even if we regard the leisure only necessary for such undertakings; 1st, from the era of his Quæstorship, A. U. C. 694, till he became Tribune of the People in 702, a space of eight years; or, 2dly, from his ultimate retirement, in 709, till his death, which happened A. U. C. 718, about four years before the battle of Actium.

A slight degree of attention to the circumstances of his life, is sufficient to demonstrate the truth of this remark. The Tribuneship of Sallust, independent of the duties of the office, was held amidst the fury of political tempests; and, as to the interval from this period to his return from Africa, what was it but a constant series of ambitious schemes, and party conflicts; of elevation and disgrace, of hopes and fears, of

success and disappointment? Philosophic seclusion, under such circumstances, it was impossible to enjoy, and would have been as absurd to affect: Nor would it have been less preposterous to boast, as Sallust actually did, of a mind then disengaged from public connections (42). In regard to the first period, it is freely admitted, by Le Clerc himself, to have been too youthful for that maturity of knowledge, displayed in the compositions of the author (43); so that we are reduced to the necessity either of adopting the second, or denying the existence of some of the best authenticated occurrences of his life.

Internal, as well as external evidence conclusive against his theory.

If we turn our attention to internal evidence, which, in such investigations, is often the most relevant, it will be found no less to discountenance the hypothesis of M. Le Clerc. In perusing the vigorous compositions of Sallust, whatever other opinions may be entertained in regard to them, all agree in this, that they bear no marks of a juvenile pen: Nor will they easily pass for the fruit of four-and-thirty, the author's age, when he had acted as Tribune of the People (44). Let us, for a moment, suppose them to be anonymous productions, and what then would be the judgment of the scholar, or the critic? To an unprejudiced eye, they would seem the work of a writer, who certainly was past the prime of life; whose mind had been enlarged by study, and matured by experience; an observer, who was in the practice of speculating on men, as well as books; who had habits of thinking, that were close and comprehensive, and disciplined by the precepts of a correct morality. From the hints, which he drops regarding his own genius and fortunes, it would further occur, that he was engaged in political, and tumultuous scenes, in which he had

felt the sting of disappointment, or at least the languors of satiety; where, having made trial of the happiness which ambition has to bestow, he was at last forced to seek it in the shades of privacy, and the prospect of literary fame.

In the Introduction to Catiline's Conspiracy, the author, having described the allurements of ambition, which he was unable to withstand, and the tide of dissoluteness and corruption, that hurried him along with so much impetuosity, he proceeds to contrast them with the prospects of maturer years. "Repose (he says) came at last. I wholly withdrew from a "series of *dangers and disquietudes*, resolving to dedicate, to "calm retirement, *what yet remained of life*. But, in bidding "adieu to public affairs, it was no part of my plan to ne- "glect the inestimable value of time, or sink into a listless "inactivity . . The studies, which a vain ambition had too "long interrupted, were now resumed with fresh diligence; "and I formed the design of composing a history of Roman "affairs . . For a task like this, I trust, I am the better fitted, "that I can bring to it a mind, in which hope and fear are "no more; and where *all the partialities of party are extin- "guished* (45)." On another occasion, he thus expresses himself, in speaking of his own situation. "According to certain "cavillers, to salute the multitude, and to court popularity "by feasts and shows, are the sole occupations worthy the "name of active life. But such men should remember *at "what period I succeeded in the career of civil dignities*. Let "them reflect on the persons, then left behind me in the ho- "nourable competition; and, on comparing these with *a set "of men, who have since found their way into the Senate*, it will

" candidly be acknowledged, that sloth had no share in the " determination (i. e. to seek retirement), and that with good " reason I adopted another plan of life (46)."

I THINK it will be admitted, from this description, that his writings could have been produced at no early age. Indeed, in any other view, it is impossible to perceive, how the above sentiments can be at all applicable to Sallust. The series of " dangers and disquietudes " which he had escaped; the sober resolution for " what yet remained of life;" the having " succeeded in the career of civil dignities," while certain characters (and Cato himself among the number) failed in the attempt; this is not the language of an obscure individual, who had been honoured with the rank of Quæstor, or even with the Tribuneship; although, in the governor of Africa, and the friend of Cæsar, it might well be admissible. In " bidding adieu to public affairs," with a mind, in which " all the partialities of party are extinguished," we see the political veteran, who quits the field, not the ambitious adventurer, who is only entering it; and who, in fact, was on the eve of transactions, that certainly were the most conspicuous, if they were not the most honourable, of his public life.

IT may, likewise, be observed, that the illustrious persons, at one time outstripped by Sallust, and the hint concerning a very different set of men, who " had since found their way into the Senate," point, with no slight probability, first, at the distinguished patrónage of the Dictator, which the historian enjoyed (47); and, secondly, at the number of Cæsar's adherents of every class, whom, in the infancy of imperial power,

he was forced to admit into the Senate. Now, according to Le Clerc, Sallust wrote his history long *before* these circumstances took place; whereas it was very soon after, according to the chronology here adopted, that he seriously resumed his literary labours.

Before we dismiss the subject of internal evidence, there is another circumstance, which is of material weight. In introducing the fine parallel between Cæsar and Cato, in Catiline's Conspiracy, Sallust evidently speaks of the existence and competition of those celebrated rivals as a *past* event, and as if a considerable time had elapsed, since the period in which they figured (48). This clear information, from Sallust himself, is of all arguments the most unanswerable, against the hypothesis of Le Clerc, which supposes Catiline's Conspiracy to have been written in the year 703, long prior to the death of either Cato or Cæsar, and when it would have been absurd to have spoken of them, except as living characters.

In regard to the Jugurthine War, I have placed the date of its composition, like M. De Brosses, and in opposition to Le Clerc, after the death of Cæsar. The author's residence in Numidia, the very scene of action, was the circumstance the most likely to suggest the idea of the undertaking; and his situation of Proconsular Governor, as it entitled him to command the most important documents, so it gave him the opportunity of collecting the most authentic information. What may be considered as decisive of the point, is, that our author himself pretty clearly intimates, that he had returned

from Africa, previously to the time of his being employed upon the work (49).

Such are my reasons for dissenting from the opinion entertained by Le Clerc, concerning the chronology of Sallust's compositions. Were they less relevant than they will be admitted to be, I should willingly appeal to the writings of Cicero, and, on the presumptive evidence which they afford, at once rest the merits of the question at issue. Of the three books *De Oratore*, I shall say nothing: But it is certain, that the treatise *De Legibus* was composed, some time after the death of Clodius, and the trial of Milo, and the books *De Claris Oratoribus*, and *Orator ad M. Brutum*, still later, in 707; that is, according to Le Clerc, at least three years after Catiline's Conspiracy was written by Sallust. In these pieces, Cicero more than once takes occasion to mention the state of historical composition, both in Greece and Rome; and he deeply laments its inferiority in the latter. Now, whatever might have been his former enmity to Sallust, we know that it had, at this time, subsided; and it is perfectly incredible he should have declared, had the Conspiracy of Catiline been given to the world, that a tolerable history, composed in Latin, was still a *desideratum* in Roman literature (50).

Upon the whole, I pretend not to assert that the historic character was not assumed by Sallust, before the era of his final retirement. As it was his practice to take up detached portions of history, so, it is probable, he might try his strength at a more youthful age, perhaps immediately on the expiration of his Quæstorship, or earlier still. All I contend

for is, that neither the Conspiracy of Catiline, nor the Jugurthine War, and still less the great History, was among the number of those early productions, which, if they ever had existence, do not seem to have survived the wreck of literature.

Dr Middleton's opinion.

THERE is another opinion, in regard to the chronology of Sallust's writings, adopted by Dr Middleton, in his Life of Cicero, which, on account of the respectability of the quarter from whence it proceeds, certainly lays claim to notice in this place. Sallust, he alleges, was so extremely sparing in his praise of Cicero, "first, on account of the personal enmity, which, according to tradition, subsisted between them; and, secondly, on account of the time of publishing his history *in the reign of Augustus*, while the name of Cicero was still obnoxious to envy (51)."

DR MIDDLETON is an able writer, and deserves the praise of appealing to original authors, with a diligence and an accuracy, which few others have displayed. Yet he pretends not to cite any antient authority for this sentiment: Neither does it seem, except in the instance of Dr Adam of Edinburgh (52), to have been adopted by the learned; and it has certainly never become current with the public. As an hypothesis of Dr Middleton's, it were easy to refute it, on more than one of the grounds, on which I have controverted that of Le Clerc: But this becomes wholly unnecessary, from the consideration, that it was impossible for Sallust to have published his Catiline "during the reign of Augustus," as he himself died A.U.C. 718, no less than four years *previous* to its commencement,

that is, previous to the battle of Actium (53). It is even more than probable, that the Catiline came out during Cicero's life-time; because Cicero was not put to death till the very close of 710; and, as Sallust's retirement took place in 708, on his return from Africa, so we may believe, that it was at least before the former year that the piece in question, which is generally admitted to have been his earliest work, was given to the public.

In regard to the idea, that this cold commendation of Cicero was occasioned by his fear of Augustus, a slight attention to Sallust's whole views and connexions through life, is sufficient to convince us, that there were other, and far stronger reasons for his temper as an historian, and for his feelings upon the subject. Although, on one occasion, he flattered Cæsar, and showed a constant deference and attachment to that extraordinary man, yet it may be truly said, that he sent forth his writings in a period, when he could think with freedom, and what he thought he could publish to the world. *Illâ temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ vellet, et quæ sentiret dicere licuit.*

Sallust's merits, as an historian, appreciated, under two heads, Matter, and Style.

II. From the cursory, but impartial view, which has been taken above, of the Historic character, in its progress in Greece and Italy, we may perceive, how greatly it was indebted to our author for the lustre, with which it shone forth at Rome, at the close of the Republic. Far outstripping the feeble efforts of his own countrymen, Sallust aspired to contend with the Greek historians. The native graces, and easy familiarity of Herodotus, were certainly not his taste. His aim

seems to have been, to attain the sententiousness of Thucydides, without his quaintness, and his elevation and strength, without his obscurity. How far he succeeded in this arduous attempt, may be seen from a candid, and impartial view of his merits as a writer.

In considering historical composition, it is obvious that it admits of two divisions, the Matter, and the Style. Matter, as inclusive of ideas, is by far the more important. Style is but the dress, in which ideas and images are clothed. The properties, that chiefly should distinguish the Matter (in as far as regards the compositions of the antient historians), appear to be these; first, Truth and Impartiality; secondly, luminous Arrangement; and thirdly, such a tendency or scope, as, while it enforces the precepts of Morality, it adds to the lessons of Experience. The properties of Style seem, also, to be reducible under three heads: first, Perspicuity; secondly, Brevity and Force; and thirdly, just and appropriate Ornament.—Let us examine the writings of Sallust by these, as criteria, and thence endeavour to ascertain what rank he should hold, among the historians of antiquity.

Properties that should distinguish the Matter of history.

1. A regard to Truth is, beyond question, the first duty of an historian. He, who would aspire to that exalted character, should, according to the great Roman critic, regard himself as bound, neither to advance what is false, nor to suppress what is true. He should be candid, dispassionate, and impartial; and in his relation of facts, no less than his delineation of character, he should rise above the littleness of prejudice, and the biass of credulity (54).

Truth and Impartiality—

The great cause, which, in all ages, has darkened historical truth, is a love of the marvellous. Before the age of Sallust, even among the Greeks, this propensity seems to have prevailed in a remarkable degree; insomuch, that the judicious Polybius likens some of his countrymen rather to writers of tragedy, than to composers of sober, and authentic narrative (55). At Rome, the historic character was then in a condition of no less debasement. Portents and prodigies ushered in every trivial event; and, on occasions of moment, or unusual solemnity, the Gods were represented as taking part in human affairs, and often manifesting their displeasure, by a train of awful prognostics. Sallust was, without doubt, the first, who had sense and genius sufficient to break through the fetters of this enchantment: But so unripe were mankind for an emancipation from its influence, that his successor Livy again renewed the age of wonders, and even lavished his art, in detailing and embellishing the most extravagant tales of the popular superstition.

As an evidence of our author's merit in this particular, I need only appeal to the Conspiracy of Catiline, than which, perhaps, there is not an event in the whole Roman history, that is better adapted to a display of the marvellous. At the close of the seventh century of the city, the belief of some impending calamity, we find, universally prevailed at Rome. The prophecies, said to be recorded in the Sibylline Books (56), as well as the prognostics of the Soothsayers as to such an event, had deeply impressed the minds of men (57); and the memorable catastrophe, which actually took place, was calculated to add to their weight, and confirm their authenticity. It was

in giving an account of such a period, that a Roman writer would particularly be inclined to flatter the public prejudices. With what a grand apparatus of supernatural appearances might not he have introduced his narrative! the turrets of the Capitol struck with lightning; the brazen tables of the laws suddenly melted down; and the statues of Gods and heroes precipitated from their pedestals! And then, when the Conspiracy did break out, might not he have described, like Cicero, what nocturnal illuminations were descried in the west; how the earth trembled, and the heavens seemed on fire (58)?

But Sallust's regard for truth was too great, to suffer him to adopt such puerile methods of exciting wonder. On the contrary, we find him opening his account with a calm, and philosophical discourse on the human mind. He next proceeds, by laying open their true causes, to account for the interesting events that were to follow. He delineates the admirable energy of virtuous Rome, and the deplorable effects of a depravation of the manners. He shows, with a proud and luxurious Nobility, an inactive Senate, and a corrupt and effeminate People, how the designs of so desperate a conspirator, as Catiline, were capable of being formed; how, by a train of public events, they were singularly favoured; and how, in a word, the success of the whole was reconcileable to probability, and to truth. As to the predictions of the Soothsayers, he merely mentions them as historical facts, in giving an account of the evidence against Lentulus; and of the portents and prodigies, of which common writers would have made so much, he frankly declares, that they are calculated

solely to amuse the idle, and to astonish, and terrify the vulgar (59).

THERE is not, in antient times, any historical composition, of which the strict authenticity can be proved on such evidence, as the Conspiracy of Catiline. We know, with certainty, that the Four Orations pronounced by Cicero, against Catiline, are authentic productions, published by the great orator himself, soon after the defeat and death of that conspirator. The First and Fourth were delivered in the Senate, and the Second and Third in the Forum of Rome. They contain an ample detail of every occurrence, as it took place; as it was, from time to time, submitted to the Fathers, or publicly made known to the people. Let these celebrated speeches be attentively compared with the relation of Sallust, and we shall be struck with their singular coincidence. It is true, some minute, and collateral circumstances, brought forward by the orator, are overlooked or disregarded by the historian: Yet we shall give due praise to the latter, for the scrupulous diligence, with which he recorded a transaction, calculated, beyond most others, to excuse the licence of fancy, and the colours of rhetoric, had he chosen to employ them. In fact, Sallust's history, and Cicero's public reports, as they are contained in his speeches, may be considered as documents, which completely illustrate, and verify each other.

IN geographical and topographical details, also, our author's extreme fidelity is no less conspicuous. Like Polybius, he is reported to have diligently visited the places, where remarkable achievements were performed (60); and in Africa, of

which he has left so particular an account, we certainly know, that, during his Proconsular government, he, in an eminent degree, enjoyed the opportunity. Among the antients, his accuracy seems to have been in such esteem, that any fact was deemed sufficiently authenticated, if found to rest upon the authority of Sallust (61).

But of all departments, delineation of character is the most trying to the impartiality and temper of the writer. He, who composes the history of his own times, writes, as Tacitus expresses it, *Recentibus odiis*, with his prejudices still afloat, and has, therefore, both a delicate, and a difficult task to perform. Of the various persons, whose portraits Sallust has handed down to posterity, there are few, where the likeness is distorted or unnatural, and fewer still, where it can be said to be defective. The account of Cicero, during his glorious administration as Consul, is certainly the most striking instance of the latter description, and gives no proof of a mild, or placable temper in the historian. Whether it was, that the excessive vanity of Cicero himself, which too often excited the derision of his enemies, and the regret and disgust of his friends (62), was offensive to our author, and that he wished to mortify it; or whether, by referring, as he expressly does, for a fuller account to Cicero's Orations, which were in every body's hands, he thought he had discharged his duty to the public, it is impossible to determine; but it is certain, that the epithets of *Homo egregius*, and *Optumus Consul*, are but poor commendations of the man, whose exertions had saved the commonwealth. Time, which has veiled the weaknesses, and, of course, magnified the virtues of the greatest philosopher,

orator, and critic, that Rome ever produced, can suggest no apology for Sallust's conduct. It may fairly be considered as the triumph of a vindictive spirit, as well as an indelible blemish, in one of the finest specimens of antient composition.

It is, however, a singular circumstance, that some of Cicero's best friends, and Brutus in particular, seem to have had nearly the same feelings as our author, on this subject. In Brutus's Life of his uncle and father-in-law Cato, a work now lost, that great man was represented, as in Catiline's Conspiracy, as taking the lead in the debate, on the punishment of Lentulus and his associates, and by no means as we find it in Cicero's Familiar Letters. The merits of Cicero were, by the writer first-mentioned, in the same manner as by Sallust, thrown entirely into the back-ground of the piece; and the very same epithet of a "most excellent" Consul *(Optimus Consul)*, is the utmost praise, that even Brutus's friendship could draw from him (63).

Much has been said, and with some show of reason, of the partial colours, in which the character of Cæsar is pourtrayed, in the celebrated parallel, where he is contrasted with Cato. This, I think, proceeds from a mistaken notion of the aim of the author, which apparently is, that the parallel should be *encomiastic*. He brings the two characters, he says, into one view, for the purpose of showing, that some men of exalted virtue, and uncommon talents, had, in a degenerate age, been produced at Rome; and that, striking as these qualities appeared in both, they yet came upon the world in a very different shape, and were therefore proper to be opposed to each

other. The defects of Cæsar, which were sufficiently numerous, make, indeed, no figure in the piece: But, are those of Cato more invidiously depicted? The truth is, Cæsar was, perhaps, the greatest man of antiquity, if we make allowance for his vices, which it is impossible to defend: Cato might contend with him for that glorious distinction, if we deduct from his virtues what it was impossible to practise (64). This Sallust clearly saw; and, in order to avoid committing either the dignity of his friend, or of the hero of Utica, he prudently confined himself to the *bright* side of both their characters. The chief merit of the parallel consists in the author's address, in being able to preserve, amidst so much exquisite panegyric, and so much skilful contrast, an entire regard to historical truth: For what is said of either, in a moral view, is well founded in itself, yet leaves Cato, upon the whole, the greater man.

Clear and luminous Arrangement—

2. NEXT to authenticity, the power of Arrangement is one of the most important merits, that can be possessed by the historian. The most interesting facts, and the most momentous occurrences, will but encumber his page, if he be unable to throw over them the light of order. How eminently Sallust is entitled to this praise, a slight attention to his two principal pieces will sufficiently convince us. In the Conspiracy of Catiline we have the history of a single, but interesting political event. The account opens with a retrospective view of the Roman Commonwealth. The progress of its aggrandizement; the causes of its decline; the genius of its policy; the corruption of its manners; these all appear in review before the reader. Whether we accompany the historian to the delibe-

rations of the Senate; whether we survey, with him, the versatility of the people, or behold the plottings of a dark, and desperate conspirator, a luminous arrangement is conspicuous throughout. Thus, it becomes easy for the mind to trace effects to their causes, and to disentangle the most distant, or most important relations. It is by this means, principally, that we are interested in the narrative, and are gratified to the full, by the winding up of the catastrophe.

In the account of the Jugurthine War, this valuable quality is still more conspicuous, as the materials, which compose it, are far more diversified. Here, the historian had an arduous task to perform. He had to arrange the various operations of a Numidian War, the intrigues of powerful Patricians, and popular demagogues at Rome, with those of mercenary deputies and generals in Africa; and the whole was to be interspersed with descriptions of places then but imperfectly known, and, of course, interesting to his countrymen. Yet the arrangement, which everywhere marks the work, is correct and beautiful. The narrative, although interwoven with episodes, preserves its continuity. Neither the parties formed in the Senate, nor the impositions practised on the people, are ever suffered to rise in rank above collateral events, or to obscure more important objects; but each occurrence is so represented, as to become subservient to one general, and pleasing effect. The Numidian usurper every where figures as the hero of the piece. Sometimes, he is seen conquering by his gold at Rome, and, sometimes, by his arms in Africa; until, in the end, he is led captive by the superiority of men, who were destined, erelong, to enslave their country.

3. Were we called upon to name the antient historian, the tendency of whose works is best fitted to teach either Morality or Experience, I believe we might, without injustice, fix on Sallust (65). To particularize every passage, where examples of this sort occur, would be to transcribe his writings. What can be more instructive, than his masterly account of the rise and progress of vice and luxury at Rome, and the deplorable effects of political intrigue, and the love of revolution, especially when accompanied with a depravation of the manners? What can be more impressive, than the exalted sentiments of virtue, contained in the Proœms to the Catilinarian and Jugurthine Wars? what more concise and vigorous, than the language in which they are expressed? Where, in a word, shall be found precepts more important, than are, in all these, addressed to the understanding, as well as to the heart? Practical and Moral tendency.

One of the principal means, employed by Sallust, for promoting these useful objects, is the delineation of character, a practice, as we have already seen, which he himself introduced into historical composition. Contrary to the custom of modern writers, he chuses to give his representation in the opening of the history (66). By becoming early acquainted with the actors on the scene, we know what to expect from their habits, or their dispositions; and the outline, which he thus sketches, he never fails to fill up, during the narrative, with the most masterly strokes of his pencil.

When we peruse the concise, yet comprehensive account of the mind and person of Catiline, we no longer wonder at the boldness of his enterprize, or the multiplicity of his crimes.

We see, at once, in that fierce, yet subtle temper, the boundless ambition which would seize the government, which could massacre the senate, and fire the capital. The striking representation of his indefatigable perseverance, his address and activity, in like manner point him out as a fit leader for all the vice and profligacy of Rome, and as perfectly capable of effecting his designs, without the support of Pompey, or the aid of the Legions.

THE previous sketch of the genius and manners of Jugurtha is no less masterly and spirited; and we feel thereby prepared for every event in the life of a prince, at once so celebrated for his talents, and his crimes. In the outset, we behold him virtuous, accomplished, and aspiring; the favourite of nature, as well as of fortune; but possessing an ambition capable of precipitating him into the worst excesses. While honour and virtue continue his guides, he is raised to distinction, and flourishes in prosperity: But when he afterwards deviates from their salutary paths, friends and fortune alike forsake him, and he falls the victim of his temerity, and his vices. What can be more instructive, than the mixed picture, which in this prince's history is held up, of pride and meanness, of boldness and irresolution, and, above all, of the power of conscience over the guilty mind? Neither the regal dignity, nor the possession of power, nor the triumph of successful wickedness, can shield him from himself; and we clearly see how chearfully he would have exchanged the Numidian crown for the applause of Scipio, and his former integrity.

BESIDES this professed delineation of character in the out-

set, and its development in the narrative, Sallust, with an address peculiar to himself, in adapting the speeches to the same ends of instruction, always makes the speakers give their own portraits. From the most antient times, it should be remembered, that history was composed of two principal parts, the Narrative, and the Rhetorical. Public business was then chiefly conducted by means of public speaking; and hence speeches, no less than facts and events, as properly found a place in the work of the historian, as they now, in consequence of a change of manners, are discarded from that of modern times (67). These favourite compositions, however, were no tissue of fancy, nor arbitrary display of the rhetorical art. As far as regarded the matter or argument, many of them were real speeches, actually delivered in the council, or in the field. Thucydides declares, that those in his history were of this description; and we have reason to think, that the greater part of the orations in Xenophon and Sallust proceeded, at least in substance, from the eminent persons, to whom they are attributed (68).

Our author, in the execution of this part of his task, pays the most remarkable attention to verisimilitude. He unites, to a regard to times and circumstances, a perfect knowledge of the human mind, and he never once loses sight of the true genius of the speaker. In this manner, the speeches of Cæsar and Cato, in Catiline's Conspiracy, and of Memmius and Marius, in the Jugurthine War, exhibit beautiful models of moral painting, as well as of correct composition. When Cæsar, amidst a noble display of eloquence, labours to set forth his zeal for the laws, and his respect for the Senate, a

secret partiality to the conspirators is still descernible. They, who could conceive the bold design of seizing the government of their country, at once conciliate his favour; and what by open avowal he cannot defend, he labours to palliate by an appeal to the passions, and the specious plea of prudence and expediency. Religion and the Gods, however, are treated by Cæsar with far less respect, than the laws and the magistrates. With the professed disciple of Epicurus, death is nothing else than the termination of human woe; and he derides the belief of rewards and punishments hereafter, as the fables of a fanciful mythology.

Cato, in the same way, is made to trace his own likeness. He, indeed, comes forth as the *Rigidi servator honesti*, as the model of moral excellence. He first lays down, with a firmness peculiar to himself, the principle of right; and then he contends for the practice, with the boldness and energy of an immoveable patriot. An air of austerity, the genius of his sect, is evidently seen to pervade his counsels, no less than his manners. The Stoic pride of rising superior to anger, to favour, or to compassion, is strongly painted: And, disregarding all but the direct road to his end, he is as careless of conciliating his enemies, as of exasperating and alienating his friends. In Memmius and Marius we discover an insatiable ambition, artfully disguised under the mask of patriotism in the one, and under that of rustic virtue in the other. Both aim, at bottom, at the same object, namely, to rise to distinction by the favour of the multitude. The portrait of Marius, in particular, is exquisitely finished; and from his celebrated speech to the people may be drawn the noblest sentiments, and the most wholesome instruction.

THESE examples, out of many, may suffice to show the high practical utility, and moral merit of Sallust's compositions. His first and great praise is, that, whether in the Narrative, or the Speeches, the Reflections, or the Characters, virtue appears ever amiable, and alluring in his page, while vice is held forth to due abhorrence. That man must be insensible alike to the charms of eloquence, the authority of wisdom, and the attractions of virtue, who does not rise wiser and better, from the perusal of his writings.

Properties that should distinguish the Style—

I THINK it may be asserted, that the superiority of our author, to all the Roman historians at least, who had preceded him, in point of matter, was not more conspicuous, than his pre-eminence as to Style.

STYLE, according to one of the most celebrated critics of antiquity, is of a three-fold nature; the Grand or Austere, the Ornamented or Florid, and the Common or Middle kinds (69). Among the Greeks, the great example of the first kind, the only one that concerns us at present, was exhibited by Thucydides, whose style is perfectly original, and peculiar to himself. Its singularity proceeds not so much from the choice of words, of which many were obsolete, and unusual for the period in which he lived, as from the nature of the composition; and that is so remarkable for every variety of arrangement, and every figure of construction, that he may be fairly said, according to an accurate scholar of our own times, to have "rung all the changes possible upon words (70)." Austere, and often harsh in the structure of his periods, his narrative does not want for clearness; but in the

speeches the construction is, for the most part, so complicated, as to afford the semblance rather of a riddle, than of an argument, to the most perspicacious reader (71). Such was the writer, whom Sallust seems to have chosen for his model (72); and the style which he produced affords a proof, that an author may have discernment to avoid the defects, without being able to attain every excellence of his master.

Perspicuity— 1. Of all the objections, that have been made to Thucydides, by the critics, that of obscurity is, perhaps, the best founded. The first virtue of a writer is, beyond doubt, Perspicuity, whatever be the nature of the subject. It is a quality, for the want of which no vigour of genius, nor exertions of industry can compensate. Like light to the material world, it is the cause of beauty and order; and without it, indeed, scarcely any other quality can have existence. A defect so glaring as obscurity, Sallust, therefore, was careful to avoid. In his style is seen no perplexity of arrangement, no tiresome length, nor involution of periods. The reader, at a single glance, apprehends his meaning, and is never drawn aside, as it frequently happens in Tacitus, and sometimes even in Livy, from an attention to the sense, by the labour of solving a verbal enigma (73). Whatsoever other faults are found to his style, it has not been denied, as far as I know, that he is the most perspicuous of the Roman historians.

Brevity and Force— 2. But the great virtues of Thucydides, that attracted Sallust's imitation, were Brevity and Strength; and to these he added no inconsiderable share of that dignified austerity, so observable in the compositions of the Greek historian. The tongue,

in which he wrote, was every way inferior to its prototype. In derivation and inflexion, the two great artifices of language, it was far more deficient; and it could not boast of that surprising variety, both in harmony and expression, which the four different dialects of the Greek are calculated to convey (74). With such disadvantages, he certainly was unable to follow Thucydides with equal steps: Yet, if he fell short of his copiousness, he equalled his strength, and exceeded his brevity; and he at times knew to temper the former with that polish and elegance, which are not inconsistent with austerity; qualities so much desired by Cicero, for his accomplished orator (75).

As examples in our author's writings, where strength and brevity predominate over every other character of style, many passages may be adduced, such as the Proœms to the Catilinarian, and Jugurthine Wars; the fine delineation of Roman manners, from rudeness to refinement, and at length to corruption; the various characters, pourtrayed in the course of both of his principal pieces; and, in a word, every occasion, on which he indulges in moral, or philosophical speculation. In these instances, if he but rises to dignity, he is careless of the minuter graces of language: Rythm is often sacrificed to brevity, and smoothness to energy of diction. Yet, at other times, Sallust is far from being deficient in harmony of periods. The address of Micipsa to his sons, and Adherbal's speech in the Senate, are alone sufficient to evince, that he can touch the pathetic with the hand of a master.

In conciseness, as has already been said, he surpassed even

the writer, from whom he copied it (76). Take away, says the elder Seneca, one or more words from a given sentence in Thucydides, remarkable for its brevity, and the sense will remain entire, although, perhaps, at some expence of its polish. Make the trial with the same sentiment, as it stands in Sallust, in whom not a word is superfluous, and both the construction and the sense will suffer by a violence, which cannot be done to the one, without affecting the other (77.)

BREVITY, nevertheless, although one of the most valuable properties of style (78), may be carried to a licentious extreme. He, who indulges in it beyond certain bounds, will surprise rather than delight, and become a mannerist in writing. Inured to a habit of thinking with closeness, Sallust is content with exhibiting the principal idea, and he discards every collateral, and needless appendage. Like his successor Tacitus, he often gives the image in profile, and leaves his readers to take a round-about view (79). In order to avoid the long, and involved periods of Thucydides, he thought he could not make his own sufficiently sententious. With this design, the use of copulatives is almost entirely rejected, both to connect his sentences with one another, and to unite the members of the same sentence; and the disjointed appearance, and want of variety which ensue, are displeasing in the extreme to an accurate ear. Other writers, as well as Sallust, have used this figure, called Asyndeton, which is frequently productive of both fire, and grandeur (80); but he certainly was the first, who viciously affected it as a general character of style.

A LATE excellent critic (the author of the Origin and Pro-

gress of Language) has noticed this defect in the style of Sallust, with a discernment and freedom, that do great honour to his judgment. He shows, that, as it must be either fatiguing by its monotony, or surprising by its abruptness, it is unfit for narrative composition; and that it wants that pleasing flow, that *Flumen orationis*, which constitutes one of the principal beauties of the historic period (81). He observes, with equal justice, that, in consequence of the example set by Sallust, the abrupt style of history came into fashion at Rome (82); and that, in process of time, it was imitated by Tacitus, in whose hands it grew insupportable, from the quaintness and obscurity, with which he conjoined it.

GREATLY as I respect this judicious critic, I cannot, however, go the length of subscribing to all his opinions concerning our author (83). On the point in question, it does not follow, that, because the flowing period is necessary to history, either the whole of the narrative should, on that account, be periodized, or that the characters and reflections should be subjected to the same laws as the narrative. In the last mentioned part, short *commatic* sentences, as the Greek critics call them (84), should be interjected, in order to vary the sameness of the period: And to this I may add, that, had the sententiousness of Sallust's manner been judiciously confined to the reflections and characters, and relieved by a greater flow in the other parts of the work, it would have produced the composition of all others the most pleasing to a reader of taste.

IN the attainment of elevation and strength of diction, Sallust also had recourse to the revival of old words, in imitation

of Thucydides. For this purpose, he diligently studied the compositions of the elder writers, and, among others, those of Cato and Lælius, but particularly of the Censor. He revived the use of many words, both original and derivative, that had fallen into decay. According to the precept of a great critic, he selected, from among those still current, and not quite laid aside, many that were forcible and expressive (85); and he was judicious, no less than fortunate, in the new adaptation of others, which were usual at the time (86). In imparting to style somewhat of the rust of antiquity, he thought that he rendered it both more dignified, and more pleasing; a principle, in which he has the support of the greatest masters of language, of Plato and Cicero, of Horace, Virgil, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and Quintilian (87), who have uniformly maintained the same sentiment. By these methods, it is certain that Sallust added to the copiousness, no less than the energy of his native tongue. If, on that account, he was envied and condemned by the captious of his own times, his improvements were adopted by succeeding generations.

Just and appropriate Ornament.

3. THE third and last point, that remains to be examined, need not employ a long discussion. The golden maxim of Cicero in regard to style, that excess is, at all times, more dangerous than deficiency *(In omnibus rebus, magis offendit nimium quàm parum)* (88), peculiarly applies to the use of Ornament. Like strong lights in a picture, it will please most, when it relieves the masses of a darker colouring. Sallust, like other great masters of language, depended more for effect on the general strength and colour of his style, than upon the striking brilliancy of particular passages (89). Ambitious to produce a

composition, which not only should please, but please without satiety (90), he scattered his ornaments with a sparing hand. What Quintilian calls the *Lumina orationis*, and mentions as perpetually sparkling through the periods of later writers (91), are seldom to be found in his page: For the same severity of taste, that led him to emulate the graces of Thucydides, completely secured him from any infection of the Asiatic tumour, or the growing declamation of the Roman schools. It is true, he delighted, at times, in the antithetical manner of Gorgias and Isocrates (92); yet he never suffered it to disgust by quaintness, or to tire by repetition. However singular it may seem, it is not the less true, that if, among the writers of Rome, we are to look for an example of that *closeness* of the Attic manner (93), so much more applauded by the antient, than the modern critics, it is to the page of Sallust we must turn; far rather than to that of Livy or Cicero. Sallust and Demosthenes had studied under the same master, as the works of both sufficiently testify; and they each improved upon him, according to their different genius: The former composed for the retirement of the closet *(A forensi strepitu remotus)* (94); the latter, for the noise and agitation of a popular assembly (95). The taste of Cicero and Livy, it is pretty certain, were less unadulterated. The orator, according to the confession of his best friends, was too easily dazzled by the rhetoricians of Asia (96), and those of Rome have given a visible colour to the manner of the historian (97).

Doubts concerning the maxim, that the most perfect style is

It has been said by some critics, but, I think, without justice in regard to history, that the most perfect style, like the most perfect countenance, should have no prominent, or pecu-

without prominent features.

liar features. If this be the case, from whence shall it derive its strength and energy? Strength of feature, whether of countenance, or of composition, seems inseparable from some portion of characteristic peculiarity. A writer's style is supposed to reflect the image of his mind: And I cannot conceive how it should enhance the value, or add to the interest of that image, to refine it to any arbitrary standard, which should efface its identity. It may be pretty confidently asserted, that he, who were able to rival the simplicity of Cæsar, or the sweetness of Xenophon (writers who are both without prominence in their style) (98), however he might excel in some departments of composition, would not probably attain the highest efforts in that of history. Of extremes in all composition, as in other things, it has been justly observed, that they border upon each other. Grandeur sometimes leads to bombast; the love of conciseness betrays into obscurity; and the writer, whose utmost aim is to be simple and elegant, will be relaxed in feebleness, and often sink into insipidity (99). Perfect excellence, we must admit, with Cicero, although unattainable by human efforts, may yet reside in the mind, and may be seized by a vivid fancy (100). True taste results from a union of the judgment, and the imagination. On the best grounds we may believe, that it is in those instances, where individual character is most clearly prominent, that the efforts of the student, other things being equal, will be most happy, and most vigorous.

Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus compared.

It appears, in comparing Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, the three great writers of history at Rome, that their style is sufficiently characteristic of the ages in which they flourished, those of Cæsar, of Augustus, and of Trajan. In the two first

are displayed the vigour, as well as the graces, of a mature and polished period; in the last, the sensible decline of taste and genius among a people, who were great in their vices, no less than in their virtues, and in both almost exceeding the measure of humanity.

SALLUST is concise, strong, and rapid. Like a stream, which rolls over a firm and rocky channel, he is often harsh and abrupt, but always pure and perspicuous. Livy is copious, smooth, and flowing (1). He is a majestic river, passing over a fertile soil; but of which the windings are sometimes artificial, and the waters sometimes turbid (2): While their successor Tacitus, who copied the abruptness of the one, and far surpassed the art and obscurity of the other (3), charms with the strokes of original genius, and rises to an energy peculiar to himself.—Of the three, Sallust is the most chaste and pure; Livy the most diffuse and eloquent; Tacitus the most vigorous and impressive. Perhaps they were all too apt to forget, that the highest, as well as the most pleasing effort of art unquestionably is, when it effects its own concealment (4). Had the first been less sententious and abrupt, the second less artificial and declamatory, and the third less affected and obscure, nothing more would have been to be desired, as a perfect model for imitation. As it is, no one of them can be strictly said to come up to our ideas of such a standard.

OF the style of history, as of every other species of composition, the great and rare excellence seems to be, to draw the attention to *things*, rather than to *words*. The true effect of a good style is, to enable us clearly to apprehend the meaning

of the author. The chief sensation, produced by his writings, should be the train of his thoughts: It should be by a reflex act only that we advert to the beauty of his composition. Yet in adapting style to the purposes of history, it should display no inconsiderable share of force and ornament, and rise to a dignity, which is natural and unaffected (5). It must be neither harsh from abruptness, nor feeble from diffusion: It must neither glitter with gay conceits, nor perplex with enigmatical obscurity. In a word, it must be free from all the *purple patches* of the Rhetorician's cloak (6).

Style of history in modern times. Great improvements made on the matter.

If we enquire into the efforts of modern genius, in regard to history, by which so much is achieved to improve the matter, I believe it will be found, that nothing as yet has been produced in style, beyond the classical models of Sallust and Livy. Among the nations of Europe, our own writers, for more than half a century past, have indisputably held the foremost rank. Yet it may be made a question with those, who indulge in such speculations, notwithstanding the vigour of Hume, the eloquence of Robertson, and the extraordinary polish and elegance of Gibbon, whether some transcendent genius be not still wanting, who, bred in the pure school of the Greeks, should surpass the fame, by in some sort uniting the excellencies of those distinguished authors?

Admitting the fact, it may be observed, concerning the probability of such an event, that, as to all attainment there are certain bounds, which it is difficult, and often impossible to pass, so the progress of men becomes retrograde, when once they have reached them. It is with our

minds, in some sort, as with our bodies. The latter, when they have attained their full growth, from that moment begin to decay. Our intellectual powers may be said to share the same fate. They, in like manner, ripen by slow degrees: They arrive at maturity: And, when they can no longer improve, they sink into that state of feebleness and corruption, to which, according to many, the taste of the present day is fast hastening. By those who favour this opinion it has, therefore, speciously been demanded, by what means we are to escape the literary fate of the polished nations of antiquity, with surely no claims in our favour to superior genius, and as few to superior assiduity?—The question is interesting; and, as it relates to composition in general, and to historical style among ourselves, it may not be undeserving of a short enquiry.

Previously to the middle of the last century, this species of writing had made little progress in England. Until Hume and Robertson appeared among us, the Italians, and still more the French, had outstripped our writers in a career of learning, to which their language, from either strength or copiousness, seems comparatively little adapted. Guicciardini and Machiavel in Italy, and in France de Thou, Vertot, and Veli, had obtained deserved celebrity, by endeavouring, on an enlarged principle, to cultivate the art. But, as the intercourse between nations rapidly encreased, and their relations to one another were multiplied and discriminated, an extensive field was opened to the historian. He was now able to impart information the most various and important. He could unfold the more remote, and general causes of events, not deduced alone from the habits and passions of men, but

from the political character of their age and nation; and he could enrich his work with wide, and philosophic views of its progress, whether in the knowledge of religion, in the science of government, in the cultivation of manners, or the advancement of arts.

AMIDST these improvements, however, some doubts may be entertained, whether the Philosophy of History, as this department is very properly called, have not been cultivated to the prejudice of the Narrative. History, whatever other means it may adopt for instruction, should never depart from its essential and primary character, as a *relation of facts*. The motives, as connected with the actions of men, should, in the first place, excite the reflections of the reader, and, in the second only, the speculations of the historian. The spirit of philosophy, like the hand of art, may principally direct; but, to produce its best effects, it should rarely be discernible. Without a due regard to this maxim, it will be found, that the series of events, instead of naturally giving rise to the reflections, will seem only detailed on purpose to exhibit them; and history, departing from her proper sphere, will thus degenerate into a moral discourse, a mere tissue of metaphysical, and political speculation (7).

Superior powers of Hume and Robertson. Gibbon the Seneca of English literature.

THAT Hume and Robertson, in a judicious improvement of the matter, fairly outstripped all the writers who had gone before them, there is no dispute; while, in the formation of their style, they drew from the exquisite models of antiquity. The characteristics of both, but particularly of the latter, are strength, rapidity, and manly polish. If they were sometimes

deficient in rythm, and sometimes sparing of decoration, they bore a greater resemblance to those antient masters, from whom they were ambitious to derive their diction. When Gibbon appeared, and was unable to rival them in energy, like the followers of Livy and Sallust, he became more studious of ornament. He was anxious to hide his inferiority of strength, under the extraordinary elegance of his dress. His style, accordingly, is eloquent and flowing, and at once correct and splendid. He is, to his two celebrated precursors, what Demetrius Phalerius was to Æschines and Demosthenes (8). Like that ingenious rhetorician, he seems to belong to a period, of which the maturity being past, its want of real vigour is to be supplied by curious refinement, by laboured diction, and fastidious delicacy (9).

GIBBON, with all his erudition and ingenuity, may be justly styled the Seneca of English literature. He was as deeply enamoured of the false lustre of Tacitus and the French, as the Roman philosopher was of that of the Declaimers; and it is equally true of both, that, with genius fitted to adorn, they corrupted the taste of their respective ages (10). But, for our consolation, we may remark, that there is an essential difference between our circumstances, as a nation, and those of the Romans, under Caligula and Nero, or even under the milder sway of Trajan and the Antonines. That we are, like the Romans, rich, polished, and luxurious, is indisputably true: But our wealth and luxury are not the result of conquest, but the offspring of commerce; and luxury and wealth, so procured, support, in their turn, invigorating efforts, and continual industry. *Civil Liberty*, whether in its advancement or decline,

has constantly been found the concomitant of that of literature, and the arts: The freest periods, therefore, have ever been those, that were most eminent for a pure, and polished taste. Under all, or any of the Emperors above mentioned, civil liberty, at Rome, was at the lowest ebb: With us, on the other hand, it may be truly said to be in full vigour; nay it frequently shoots forth in wildness and licentiousness. So it is precisely with our literature, which is congenial to our freedom, and bespeaks the same vigorous, and manly cast.

These circumstances, which are important in their effects on the history of learning, are agreeable to the progress of language and government, among all nations. It was an antient saying of Solon, that the Speech of men reflects the image of their conduct, and their character (11). With a savage people, discourse is never copious. A few words suffice for their purpose; and those, in general, are harsh, abrupt, and nervous. In cultivated society, and under a despotic government, as the powers of the mind assume a milder tone, language grows more refined. Affectation succeeds; and delicacy supplies the place of correctness and precision. Relaxed in ease, and habituated to luxury, men look for elegance rather than strength, and prefer ingenuity to truth and nature. But among a free people, where the first principles of civil union subsist in vigour; where the dictates of law, not the caprice of an individual, form the rule of action; where, in a word, a *sense of liberty* pervades and animates all ranks of men; there the language is nervous and animated, as well as cultivated and refined, and corresponds with the energy of such a character.

THE present condition, I think, of English style, in a great measure confirms this analogy. If corruption at any time has been induced from vicious examples, it has not, at least, been very permanent in its influence. The purity, which we see displayed in many late productions, is at once the effect, and the evidence of the principle. That quaintness of phrase, and redundancy of epithet, which Gibbon introduced, and which he copied from the Declaimers, could not long be pleasing to a British public; and hence the stateliness and effeminacy, that, together with these, form the characteristics of his manner, are gradually disappearing. The peculiar pedantry, which disfigures the nervous compositions of Johnson, is now greatly laid aside, and is succeeded by a taste of a purer species. In a word, the vices of these, and other seductive writers, are become apparent, while both copiousness and harmony have been encreased by their example.

IT is, at least, a pleasing, if it be not altogether a universal theory, that *political freedom*, and *elegant learning* are usually co-existent among a polished people, and that the same manly spirit, which asserts the one, should be ambitious of excelling in the other (12). If we look abroad to the Continent of Europe, perhaps we shall find this theory no less clearly illustrated, than in the history of Greece and Rome. Real liberty, among the continental nations, has scarcely any existence. Awed by some domestic, or some foreign tyrant, they almost all either crouch under despotism, or are sunk in licentiousness. The style of their most favourite productions, those of science excepted, seems entirely to coincide with such a spirit. They are, for the greater part, florid, declama-

tory, and grossly immoral: They sufficiently attest the depraved taste of those who read, and the more depraved imagination of those who compose them. History, whose advancement demands a vigorous character, and is incompatible with so sickly a state of learning, is scarcely cultivated (13); and many years seem requisite to recover from the shock, which moral habits, no less than political institutions, have fatally experienced.

Probable hope as to the encreasing purity of English Composition.

In regard to ourselves, there is little doubt, whatever prejudice may have suggested to the contrary, that composition of every sort, and history in a particular manner, have *gained* much more than they have *lost*, within the last hundred years. If our style possesses less of simplicity, and of native idiom, it has acquired, in recompense, greater strength, precision, and harmony. By the valuable supplies, that, within half a century past, have been drawn from the manly writers of the age of Queen Elizabeth, we have, in a great degree, been preserved from affected delicacy, and foreign analogies: Our attention has been recalled to the free ages of Greece and Rome, from which those writers copied, and which afford the best models of genuine diction.

On these grounds, is it an unreasonable hope, that a new era in our style may erelong be produced (14)? If we fortunately can escape the corruption of our French and German neighbours, and keep steadily in view the elder writers among ourselves, and the great exemplars of antiquity, there is no room to despair. The art of language, like every other art, cannot long continue stationary; and there are various writers of the present day, who perhaps rival in purity, as they cer-

tainly excel in both accuracy and polish, the boasted period of Swift and Addison.

Objections of the critics against Sallust.

I HAVE thus considered, at some length, the merits and defects in the literary character of Sallust. I have even wandered into paths of discussion, which to many may seem uninteresting, and, at best, only collateral to the subject. It is, therefore, full time to take notice of the principal Objections, that have been made, by the critics, to this celebrated historian.

THE heaviest and most considerable charge, brought against Sallust, seems to be, that he innovated the Roman language; First, by the coining of New, and the revival of Old words; and, Secondly, by introducing into it Greek idioms, and strange forms of speech, from the writings of Thucydides. For those who make this charge it is an unfortunate circumstance, that what they would impute to the historian as a crime, has constantly been defended, and even accounted a high degree of merit, by the greatest masters of composition.

His practice of inventing New Words.

THE coining of New words is a privilege, which seems, in general, to be confined to that early period, when the language of a country is in its infancy, and denied to times, when it has become more cultivated and refined. Cæcilius and Plautus, as Horace remarks, enjoyed the licence, while it was not willingly granted to Varius and Virgil (15). It is unquestionably true, that we have no right to alter those original appellations, which men at first agreed to impose on things; but we may yet be permitted, as well as our predecessors, to

use the various arts of derivation, of inflection, and of composition, in order to multiply, or modify them (16), and accommodate language to a condition of society, which is perpetually varying, and progressively refining. A perfect language, like a perfect state of mankind, is a chimera, which can never be realized; therefore, in every stage of their progress, it will be proper, and sometimes necessary, that a new word should be hazarded. Men of genius may venture on the sober use of the privilege, and hope, with Cicero, that what is at first harsh and uncouth, will be rendered easy and familiar by habit, and by time (17). On the authority of such judges as Cicero and Horace, Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Quintilian (18), it may be asserted, that he, who has the genius to contribute to the stock of his native language, is entitled to praise, not deserving of reprehension; and that the contributions of Sallust, notwithstanding the malice of enemies and rivals, were generally approved, and soon incorporated with the Roman tongue (19).

—and of reviving Old.

As to the revival of words from Cato, and the elder writers of the republic, I trust it has been fully demonstrated, both in the present, and the foregoing Essay, that of all the devices for restoring the vigour of a language, which begins to be relaxed by refinement, this unquestionably is the most efficacious. With the impartial critic, the question will never be concerning the justness of the principle, but how far it has been carried to excess by Sallust? Cicero, who of all writers illustrates, in the most beautiful and familiar manner, the principles of taste and criticism, lays down a judicious rule for the practice. He who would drink, says he, the Falernian

grape in the highest state of perfection, should neither chuse a cask of the last year's vintage, nor one that had been preserved, in the cellars of the curious, whether for a hundred, or for seventy years back. Yet what judge will deny the superior excellence of the Opimian and Anician vintages? In like manner, adds he, it is with composition. That style will be found to give the greatest pleasure to a cultivated taste, which neither effervesces from recent fermentation, nor is yet hard and acrid, by too copious an infusion from the antient stock (20).

Our very limited acquaintance with the earlier periods of Roman literature will not permit us to judge how far Sallust may have exceeded, in borrowing from the age of Cato and Lælius (21): But, without giving heed, either to the scurrility of Lenæus, or the malevolence of Pollio, there seems reason to believe, on the sounder evidence of Quintilian, that he was too anxiously occupied about the turn of his phraseology. Instead of always adapting his style to his matter, he appears sometimes to have gone aside in quest of matter, which should suit the peculiarity of his style (22). Hence, probably, we may account for the appearance of art, more than of nature, in his manner; for greater brevity than ease, greater sententiousness than flow of diction.

His licentious introduction of Greek Idioms.

But by far the most considerable part of this charge remains to be examined; and that is, the vicious introduction of Greek Idioms from Thucydides, and the formation of a style, incompatible with the genius of the Latin tongue. The principal supporters of this accusation, are Asinius Pollio in antient, and Roger Ascham in modern times. The critical

writings of Pollio are long since lost, so that no judgment can be formed concerning his reasonings. We know that, in the age of the Antonines, and even before that period, he was considered as captious and hypercritical (23); and such a censure will not be thought unmerited by the man, who discovered Livy to abound in provincial barbarisms, Cæsar to be possessed of neither diligence nor veracity, and Cicero to be destitute of taste (24)!

Roger Ascham's strictures stated, and examined.

ROGER ASCHAM, one of the early scholars in England, and preceptor to Queen Elizabeth, has made his attack upon our author, not by declamation, but in terms direct and specific; and as his critical opinions, even in the present day, have admirers, they shall be fairly brought forward in his own words.

"SALUST (says he, in expressing his own sentiment, as "well as that of his master Sir John Cheke) is a wise and wor- "thie wryter, but he requireth a learned reader, and a right "considerer of him. He is not very fitte for young men to "learne out of him the puritie of the Latin tonge; because "he was not the purest in the proprietie of wordes, nor choi- "sest in aptnes of phrases, nor the best in framing of sen- "tences; and therefore in his wryting, neyther plaine for the "matter, nor sensible for mens understanding . . For the bet- "ter accomplishing the storie of the Romans, he red Cato "and Piso in Latin, for gathering of matter and troth; and "Thucydides in Greke, for the order of his storie, and fur- "nishing of his style.

" CATO, as his tyme required, had more troth for the matter,
" than eloquence for the style. And so Salust, by gathering
" troth out of Cato, smelleth moch of the roughnes of his
" style: Even as a man, that eateth garlike for helth, shall cary
" away with him the savor of it also, whether he will or not.
" And yet the use of old wordes, is not the greatest cause of
" Saluste's roughnes and darknesse. There be in Salust some
" olde wordes, indeed, as *Patrare bellum*, *Ductare exercitum*,
" well noted by Quintilian, and verie moch misliked of
" him. And *Supplicium* for *Supplicatio;* a word smelling of
" an older store than the other two, so misliked by Quinti-
" lian. And yet is that worde also in Varro, speaking of oxen;
" thus, *Ad victimas farciunt, atque ad Deorum servant supplicia;*
" and a few old wordes mo.

" READ Salust and Tullie advisedlie together, and in wordes
" you shall finde small difference: Yea, Salust is more given
" to new wordes, than to olde, though some wryters say the
" contrarie; as *Claritudo* for *Gloria; Exactè* for *Perfectè; Fa-*
" *cundia* for *Eloquentia.* These two last wordes *Exactè* and *Fa-*
" *cundia*, now in every man's mouth, be never, as I do remem-
" ber, used of Tullie; and therefore I think they be not good.
" For surely Tullie, speaking everywhere so moch of the mat-
" ter of eloquence, would not so precisely have absteyned
" from the worde *Facundia*, if it had been good; that is, pro-
" per for the tonge, and common for mens use.

" I COULD be long in reciting many soch like, both olde
" and new wordes in Salust: but, in verie deed, neyther oldnes,
" nor newnes of wordes, maketh the greatest difference be-

" twixt Salūst and Tullie; but first, strange phrases, made of " good Latin wordes, but framed after the Greke tonge; " which be neyther choisely borrowéd of them, nor properly " used by him; then a hard composition, and crooked fra- " ming of his wordes and sentences; as a man would say " English talke, placed and framed outlandish-like. As, for " example first, in phrases. *Nimius* and *Animus* be two used " wordes; yet *Homo nimius animi*, is an unused phrase. *Vul-* " *gus*, and *Amat*, and *Fieri*, be as common and well-known " wordes, as may be in the Latin tonge; yet *Id quod vulgo* " *amat fieri*, for *Solet fieri*, is but a strange, and Grekish kind " of wryting. *Ingens* and *Vires*, be proper wordes; yet *Vir* " *ingens virium*, is ăn unproper kinde of speaking. And so be " likewise *Æger consilii*, *Promptissimus belli*, *Territus animi*, " and many soch like phrases in Salust, borrowed, as I say'd, " not choisely out of Greke, and used therefore unproperlie in " Latin.

" Againe, in whole sentences, where the matter is good, " the wordes proper and plaine, yet the sense is harde and " darke; and, namely, in his prefaces and orations, wherein he " used most labor. Which fault is likewise in Thucydides in " Greke, of whom Salust hath taken the greatest part of his " darknesse. For Thucydides likewise wrote his storie, not at " home in Grece, but abroad in Italie; and therefore smelleth " of a certaine outlandish kinde of talke, strange to them of " Athens, and diverse from their wryting, that lived in Athens " and Grece, and wrote the same time that Thucydides did; " as Lysias, Xenophon, Plato, and Isocrates, the purest and " playnest wryters, that ever wrote in any tonge, and best

"examples for any man to follow, whether he wryte Latin, "Italian, French, or English. Thucydides also semeth, in his "wryting, not so much benefited by nature, as holpen by arte, "and carried forth by desire, studie, labor, toyle, and over "great curiositie; who spent twenty-seven yeares in wryting "his eight bookes of his history. Salust likewise wrote out of "his contrie, and followed the faultes of Thucydides to moch; "and borroweth of him some kinde of wryting, which the "Latin tonge cannot well beare; as *Casus nominativus*, in "diverse places, *absolutè positus*; as in that place of his Jugur- "thine War, speaking *De Leptitanis: Itaque ab imperatore "facilè quæ petebant, adepti, missæ sunt eo cohortes Ligurum "quatuor.* This thing in participles, used so oft in Thucydides, "and other Greke authors to, may better be borne withall; "but Salust useth the same more strangelie and boldlie, as in "thies wordes; *Multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus.* I "believe the best grammarian in Englande can scarce give a "good rule, why *Quisque*, the nominative case, without any "verbe, is so thrust up amongst so many oblique cases (25)."

In the First place, as to Sallust's "*darknesse*," or being "not sensible for mens understanding," I presume it is superfluous to enlarge upon it. It has already been observed, in this Essay, and will be admitted by every impartial scholar, that the writings of our author are intelligible throughout, and infinitely more so than those of either Livy or Tacitus; insomuch, that he may be accounted the most *perspicuous* of the Roman historians. The author of the Origin and Progress of Language, though enamoured of Ascham, and very partial to Livy, admits the fact, and candidly intimates, in more

places than one, that, whatever be the faults chargeable on Sallust, *obscurity*, at least, is not among the number (26). As Ascham, however, was of an opposite opinion, and often found the sense so "hard and darke," in the Prefaces and Orations, why did not he condescend to point out the passages?—The fact is, that no such passages can be pointed out.

In the Second place, it seems to be this learned scholar's principle to condemn, *in toto*, either the revival of old words, or the invention of new; a decision which, as we have seen above, is utterly at variance with the soundest laws of criticism. But, supposing him for a moment, to be right in that particular, the examples he has adduced are by no means conclusive, in establishing the charge against Sallust, of impurity of diction; nor can we thence infer, that he was a solitary and perverse innovator, who disregarded the practice of his contemporaries, and attempted to set up a new language for himself. Let us shortly examine the weight of these examples.

It is not true that the antient words *Patrare* and *Ductare*, as Sallust uses them, are "verie moch misliked of Quintilian." That judicious critic, on the contrary, finds no fault with the phrases which he specifies, but merely reprehends the vicious ingenuity of his own times, in warping them to improper significations (27). It is to be supposed that Quintilian knew, although Ascham might not, that *Ductare*, in the sense found in Sallust, is warranted by Terence (28). Of *Supplicium* for *Supplicatio* nothing need be said, since it is acknow-

ledged, by Ascham himself, to be in use with a contemporary writer of the highest credit (29); and the "few olde wordes mo," which he next mentions, may be as cursorily passed over, since he does not undertake to specify them. So much, then, for old words.

In regard to new words, *Exactè* for *Perfectè* is, I believe, not to be found in Sallust; but it is, in a great measure, sanctioned by both Horace and Cicero (30). *Facundia* our author certainly uses (31): So do Horace, and Ovid, and Manilius (32); and yet we are gravely told, that both *Exactè* and *Facundia* are improper words, because they do not occur in the writings of Cicero! Concerning the former word, the assertion is unfounded; and, in respect to either, it is of no consequence, if it were true. Cicero himself was a most diligent coiner of words; and to a practice which he adopted with such latitude, Sallust and Horace, Ovid and Manilius, have an equal title. However, before Ascham so confidently declared *Facundia* to be a *new* coinage of our author's, he should have known, that, upwards of *a century* before Sallust wrote, it was familiar to Terence (33), whose claim to purity will not be disputed.

But, it seems, it is neither old words nor new, that constitute the greatest difference between Cicero and Sallust. It is a strange combination of words, such as are good enough in themselves, but rendered "crooked and outlandish" by a Greek mode of combining them. The phrase *Nimius animi* is the first example that is brought forward. This construction is quoted only from the Fragments of the historian (34): Yet we may pretty confidently believe that it was correct at the time,

because we find several others, precisely analogous to it, in Horace, as well as in Livy (35). *Ingens virium*, *Æger consilii*, *Promptissimus belli*, and *Territus animi*, are all of the same stamp, and evidently also of Greek origin. Ascham says, that these phrases are unquestionably improper, and borrowed from another tongue, without taste or judgment. Livy and Horace, by their practice, say otherwise; and so do almost all the Roman writers, with whom we are acquainted, down to Quintilian and Tacitus. Now the question is, on a point of Latin analogy, and of nicety in their own language, shall we take the authority and example of these various authors, or subscribe to the dogmas of the preceptor of Queen Elizabeth?

Id quod vulgo amat fieri is the next example produced. This seems a quotation, which has been framed for the purpose by Ascham himself, as it is no where to be discovered in the works of Sallust. It is true, the historian is addicted to a poetical phraseology similar to this, in which *Amat*, in imitation of the Greek, is substituted for *Solet* (36): But I acknowledge I am unable to perceive the crime in an author's sometimes enriching his style with the colours, or the language of poetry, provided he assimilate them, with taste, to the tone and character of his composition. Expressions of such a kind, instead of blemishes, have usually been held as beauties, which Sallust and other writers meritoriously transplanted into the Latin tongue.

Nor is this critic more happy in his discovery of what he calls the *Casus nominativus absolutè positus*, in the passage of the Jugurthine War, where the author is speaking of the

people of Leptis. Had he been more perspicacious himself, or possessed the accurate editions of the work that now exist, he would have seen, that the supposed errour proceeded from the misplacing a point by the copyists, and by no means from the licentiousness of the historian. The sentence runs thus; *Itaque ab imperatore facilè, quæ petebant, adepti. Emissæ eò cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et Caius Annius præfectus* (37).

In the same manner, respecting the passage *Multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus*, by which the "best grammarian in Englande" was to have been puzzled, I cannot comprehend how it should puzzle any grammarian. The difficulties of construction, in all languages, are generally solved by referring them to ellipses, the chief principle from which they proceed. Thus, the construction in question, which is imitated from the Greek, may be supplied as follows: *Multis (sibi quisque scilicet petebat) imperium petentibus* (38); that is, there is one member of a sentence included in another; in the former of which it is predicated more strongly concerning each individual, than it is predicated, in the latter, concerning all the persons comprehended in the affirmation. It is one of those elliptical expressions, in use with both Thucydides and Sallust, and is perfectly conformable to that concise character of style, which both historians affected. But what would our learned critic have said concerning its novelty, and impropriety in Latin, could we have produced to him a pretty similar construction from Varro (39)?—The fact is, that a better instance, than the present groundless allegation, could not easily be found, in order to show, what has already been more than once remarked, that whatever may be the obscurity of Livy

or Tacitus, it is a vice, which in Sallust is wholly unknown; as, even in his most violent constructions, the *sense*, at least, is always clearly comprehended.

WHAT, then, is the amount of this formidable attack, by the preceptor of Queen Elizabeth? Sallust is found guilty of inventing one word, *Claritudo*, which we, who know comparatively so little of antient literature, are unable to discover in any writer of the same, or of an earlier period; and one mode of construction, *Ingens virium*, &c., which he borrowed from the Greek, and by which he added to the copiousness of Latin speech! Surely Roger Ascham and his friend Sir John Cheke have not "advisedlie red the wrytings of Saluste; for 'their fansies smell not of that learnyng or judgment, which 'befitteth soch wise, and worthie wits of Englande. Verelie 'it be a matter of moch reading, and tried judgment, to 'make trewe account of the faultes of those authors, which 'did wryte in the most perfite time, lest we do but shew forth 'our own blyndnesse. Wherefore, I will recite to thies learn-'ed scholars the verie wordes of Quintilian, who saith, *Modes-'tè, et circumspecto judicio de tantis viris pronuntiandum est; "ne, quod plerisque accidit, damnent quæ non intelligunt.*"

Cause of his misconceptions. Fluctuating and progressive nature of all languages.

THE great errour of Ascham seems to be, the arbitrarily attempting to limit the improvement of language to any *one* stage of its progress, although that stage be illustrated even by the genius of a Cicero. If Sallust and his contemporaries borrowed from the Greek, they only followed the example of their predecessors; and they, in their turn, were as diligently imitated by the writers who succeeded them. Whether *Ni-*

mius animi, *Ingens virium*, and many other expressions, that with Ascham would come under the denomination of "Grekish," were first introduced by Sallust, we have no means of knowing: Their use, in the writings of Livy, of the Senecas, of Tacitus, of Pliny, and other authors, clearly shows, that they were regarded as nothing less than blemishes; and thus it was that innumerable words and expressions came to be imported from the same copious source. Who will say that the Latin language, in the time of Pliny and Tacitus, was not more various in its combinations, and more ample in its vocabulary, than in the days of Cicero? In the period first mentioned, the genius of its writers had miserably declined; but that evil was the cause, by no means the effect, of the corruption of the Roman tongue. It, indeed, lay deeper than in the influence of a few individuals. It originated, at first, in the pernicious example of the Declaimers: It was aggravated through the loss of independence, and the decline of public virtue; and it was fatally completed by a long reign of vice, of despotism, and of luxury.

In all philological enquiries, we should bear in mind, that the condition of language, like that of mankind, for whose use it was designed, must ever be fluctuating. As a perfect tongue, like a perfect commonwealth, is, therefore, a chimera of the fanciful, the great object of criticism ought to be, not vainly to proscribe, but judiciously to regulate, the means of adding to its resources. These may be enumerated under few heads; the revival of old words; the invention of new; the adaptation of common words to unusual significations; or else the appropriating the idioms, and borrowing the analogies,

of some more perfect tongue. Lucretius and Virgil, Cicero, Sallust, and Livy, all made use of these methods; and it is not easy to see why the vengeance of the learned, while it has been reserved for our author, should not equally be denounced against those various writers. But literature, in all ages, like other objects of attainment, has had its prejudices. Some distinguished individual, in a season of caprice, or during the heat of a controversy, sends forth his anathemas. It matters not what character he injure, or what subjects he perplex: The herd of common-place critics are sure to join, and propagate the slander (40). *Hæc unus aliquis inducit, sub quo tunc eloquentia est; cæteri imitantur, et alter alteri tradunt.*

As modern languages are polished and invigorated, by a judicious recurrence to the classical models, so the Latin formerly was enriched out of the great store-house of the Greek, from whence it sprung. The same practice will uniformly produce the same effects, when we borrow, not from an inferior, but from a superior dialect (41); as other metals, when mixed with gold or silver, acquire somewhat of the consistency, as well as the value of the more precious. He, who unites judgment with genius in this important process, may be fairly said to improve the language in which he writes. According to the just remark of Ascham himself (and from a due consideration of which his censures of Sallust would have been spared), "Even as Virgil and Horace deserve most worthie "prayse, that they, spying the unperfiteness in Ennius and "Plautus, by trewe imitation of Homer and Euripides, brought "poetry to the same perfiteness in Latin, as it was in Greke;

" even so those, who by the same way would benefite their " tonge and contrey, deserve rather *thankes* than *disprayse*, in " that behalfe."

Objections of Lord Monboddo. Singular oddity of that learned scholar.

THE next objection, which I shall mention, proceeds from a sounder critic. The author of the Origin and Progress of Language perceived the groundlessness of Ascham's cavils, and chose to rest his own objections to Sallust, not upon his contributions to the Latin tongue, which were great and meritorious, but on those radical vices of his historic style, disjunction and abruptness, and a consequent want of that pleasing flow, that *Flumen orationis*, for which, as I have already said, under the head of style, it were vain to apologize, as it is impossible to compensate (42).

HAD this learned critic stopped here, we should have had little difficulty in subscribing to his opinions. But the strength of his prejudices betrays him into a fancy, which is equally singular and extravagant. All the Roman authors, poets as well as prose-writers, *after* Cicero, he pronounces to be of a corrupt, and inferior age. Though lively and ingenious, he declares they are destitute of elegance and purity in their compositions, and are, one and all of them, mere pupils of the Declaiming school. Even to the genius of Virgil he shows no mercy; and it is not without considerable reluctance that he frees Horace alone from the same sweeping censure. The reason, he says, of the difference between Horace and Virgil is quite plain; " Horace had studied at Athens, and Virgil at " Naples (43)." Now, it is by no means certain that Virgil ever studied at Naples: On the contrary, it is believed, by the best

critics, that he received his education solely at Milán (44); although he retired, indeed, to the former city, attracted by the climate, and by the beauty of the place, in order to compose his principal poems. The great fault of these authors, in the eyes of this modern Aristarchus, appears to be their having written in Latin, and not in Greek, and their happening to be born on the wrong side of the Adriatic. But the truth is, that, with the learned Judge, whatever is Greek, or borrowed from Greece, is pure and faultless; whatever is Roman, is of no sort of value.

WITHOUT undertaking the defence of all the writers of either the Julian, or the Augustan age, who may be suffered to stand upon their own merits, it will not be difficult to prove that Sallust, at least, could be no pupil of the Declaimers; and that the assertion, as far as he is concerned, is historically untrue, were we even to set aside the internal evidence to the contrary, which is furnished by his writings.

PLOTIUS GALLUS was the first Latin Declaimer, who taught at Rome, as we learn from Cicero; and that happened, he says, when he was a boy, that is, before he put on the manly gown, and reached the age of seventeen years. Cicero was born A. U. C. 747. Now, supposing him to be fourteen at the period in question, it brings the date to 661, six years before the birth of Sallust, the very time when Crassus, the celebrated orator, during his Censorship, expelled from the city the first Latin Rhetoricians, who, he tells us, had, within two years only, begun to open their schools. As impudence, it seems, was all the new masters could teach, he thought it

the duty of a Roman Censor to crush a mischief in the bud, which might afterwards become prejudicial to real learning (45). Of so little consideration were the Declaimers at a much later era, that the terms *Declamatio* and *Declamatores* had no existence in Latin, and were first invented in the end of the seventh century of the city, when Cicero and Calvus were both orators at the bar (46). From all this it is evident, that, during the early part of Sallust's life, the Declaimers had only *begun* to make their appearance at Rome, but that they could have no sensible effect on the system of education, which was then practised. It is, therefore, absurd to maintain, as has been done by Lord Monboddo, that Sallust learnt from them his compression of manner, instead of deriving it from his acknowledged model, Thucydides. With far better reason we are warranted to believe, from his early attachment to that historian, that the directors of his studies, like those of Cicero's, judiciously sent him to the Greek instructors (47).

These facts, which are unquestionable, are further confirmed by the internal evidence of his compositions. Although his style is always concise, and sometimes sententious and abrupt, it is still perfectly perspicuous, as our learned critic himself admits. Above all, it has none of the quaint conceits, the smart turns, and the studied obscurity, which are the uniform characteristics of the schools of Declamation. That Livy sometimes displays them, needs excite no wonder, when we reflect on the rapid progress, soon after made by those schools, in the time of Augustus, and even of Cæsar, under Censors, as we may suppose, less vigilant than Crassus, and

when the attention of men was distracted by the revolutions, which then agitated the commonwealth. Besides, we should remember, that from the birth of Cicero to that of Livy, there had intervened a period of about fifty years.

Further Objections of the critics. Propriety of Sallust's Prefaces vindicated.

ANOTHER Objection, usually made by the critics, is to the discursive nature, and inordinate length of Sallust's Prefaces, or Procemia. Though beautiful as disquisitions, it is said, they bear no relation to his History. Aristotle, in his Treatise on Rhetoric (48), has laid down the laws, which should regulate the Procemia or Introductions to various sorts of composition. Now, if we examine these, we shall perceive, that it was considered as allowable, by the antients, in writings of the epidictic kind, to take an extraordinary latitude in the *Exordium*, and even to treat of matter wholly foreign to the piece. The judicious Quintilian recognises the principle; and, far from throwing any censure, as some have imagined, on Sallust, he only remarks, that his prefaces to the Catilinarian and Jugurthine Wars are of this complexion, and that he had followed the example of the Greek masters (49). The charming Procemia of Cicero, who had studied in the same school as our author, bear little or no relation to the treatises, to which they are prefixed. The praises of his principal friends, a general defence of philosophy, and even a description of some of his delightful gardens or villas, are the usual topics. So little did he consider a strict congruity, in the matter of the preface with that of the piece which was to follow, as essential to either, that we find him indifferently giving the same introduction to his treatise *De Gloriâ*, and to his Third Book on the Academic Philosophy, from mere inattention to the

circumstance of his having already affixed it to the last-mentioned tract (50).

In regard to the length of the Procemia of Sallust, that objection can apply only to what is called the Introduction to Catiline's Conspiracy, which comprehends, indeed, no fewer than the Thirteen first Sections of the work. It is a circumstance somewhat singular, that the antient critics seem not to have apprehended the true scope and meaning of this noble Preface, or preliminary Essay on the Roman history and manners. The passage already noticed from Quintilian, relates to the Four first Sections only (51), and these are but the introduction to the Essay itself. Sallust expressly tells us, that it was his design to write an account of the affairs of the Republic "in detached portions" *(Carptim scribere)*. He resolved to select the Catilinarian, the Jugurthine, and the Cimbrian Wars, as fit subjects for his pen; and regularly to go through the whole, as the nature of each was suited to his fancy, or consistent with his leisure. As the Conspiracy of Catiline, therefore, was the first of these performances, the Introduction, which extends from Section I. to Section XIV., is clearly to be considered as a Procem to the *whole collection*, and not to that piece alone, to which the author has prefixed it.

On further consideration, we shall find, that this sentiment is confirmed by the composition itself, which is utterly disproportionate to the story of Catiline's Conspiracy; and also by Sallust's practice, in an undertaking of much greater magnitude, the Jugurthine War, which likewise has a Procem; but it is of a very moderate length. The eloquent and elaborate

delineation of the national manners from rudeness to cultivation, and, in the end, to degeneracy, is, on the other hand, well-proportioned and suitable, as introductory to a *series* of historical pieces; at the same time that the address of the author is not a little conspicuous, in taking that occasion to display the actual scene of Catiline's achievements, the obstacles he had to surmount in accomplishing his designs, and the circumstances that combined to facilitate their execution. In this view, what has hitherto been accounted a blemish in the work of the historian, is apparently the effect of both his judgment and his ability. If it formerly was admired as a *misplaced* composition, how much more pleasing must it seem, when we now discover it to be equally able and appropriate?

Objections to his Speeches.

ANOTHER objection, which has been urged against Sallust by the critics, is the great length, and rhetorical cast of his Speeches, and the tedious minuteness of his Geographical details. To this objection the answer needs be neither long nor difficult.

FROM what has been observed above, concerning the Speech, in the hands of the antient historian, it is evident, that the real sentiments, and, still more, the real expressions of the statesman, or general, into whose mouth it was put, could seldom be expected. If the genuine features of the character were preserved, the writer was at freedom to fill up the picture according to his fancy; and it usually was his aim to render it an elegant vehicle for moral precept, or a field for the display of information, or of eloquence (52). That our

author complied with these well-known laws will scarcely be denied by any one, who peruses, with but common attention, the many noble orations, that adorn his writings. Indeed, the groundlessness of the charge will be the more fully admitted, when we consider the address with which, in these various orations, he has made the speakers delineate their own likenesses.

Of the unfavourable opinion of the antients, concerning the speeches of Sallust, which it is supposed may be gathered from a passage in the elder Seneca, little needs be said, because the passage itself is too doubtful and obscure, for any thing conclusive to be built upon it (53). In fact, it is, in any view, unsuitable to the principle, which it is brought to illustrate. Were it otherwise, the rhetorician can be understood only to represent the speeches of Sallust as improper for the Forum; an object, we may believe, to which they never were applied, and for which, as obviously, they never were intended (54).

To his Geographical details—

In regard to too much minuteness of Geographical detail, the great example is the description of Africa, in the Jugurthine War. On this head I shall only observe, that what may seem minute or tedious to the modern reader, was regarded with very different eyes, when the works of the historian were given to the world. Africa, at that period, was a continent but imperfectly known to the Romans: The account, therefore, of a writer, whose accuracy was celebrated, and who had visited the scenes he so particularly describes, was among the

parts of the piece, that would excite the greatest interest, and, of course, be perused with the greatest avidity.

To his Misanthropical severity as a Moralist.

THE last allegation of the critics, which I shall notice, as brought against our author, is, that he is a Misanthrope, who beholds human nature with a discontented eye. He is always angry, they say, with his country, or discontented with its government, and inveighs, with an unreasonable bitterness, against the profligacy of the times. Now, I would ask these cavillers, if a writer, assuming to be an historian, should give a fictitious representation of the age in which he lives? Or, if he do not, should he abandon his best principles, and become the apologist of corruption or venality?

SALLUST, it is certain, was thrown upon a period, when vice, licentiousness, and political faction were carried to an incredible height. Even to the eyes of cotemporaries, the decay of the constitution was visible and rapid; and men of reflection regarded the change in the manners as the more alarming and portentous, that so short a period had elapsed, since those of Rome could have been quoted as a model of virtue. From the days of Fabricius, who disdained to take the life of Pyrrhus, and held in abhorrence the depraved morals of his countrymen (55), to the time of Jugurtha, who fairly bought the Senate, and could, with equal certainty, have bought the whole Roman people (56), a period had intervened of little more than a hundred and fifty years: and from thence about ten only to the birth of Julius Cæsar. It is almost superfluous to add, that, on Cæsar's usurpation, the one half of Rome may

may be said to have been bribed, and the other half compelled, by force of arms, to submit to his authority.

So total a decline of public and private virtue, was a fact, that did not escape the observation of Sallust; and it was his duty, as an historian, to paint it in its true colours. In treating of the nobles, if an asperity, which might have been spared, be sometimes discernible, it must be attributed to his hereditary dislike to that faction, perhaps, in some sort, to the obstacles they threw in the way of his political preferment. But there is no writer, who mixes with his works less of his own personal feelings; no one who could say, with greater truth, *Quòd à spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, animus liber erat.* To exaggerate the picture of the depravity of the times was, indeed, not easy. He who examines the writers of that day, whether poets or historians, or has recourse to those of a later period, will admit the justice of the remark. Our author, therefore, is no misanthrope. His delineations are no fanciful, nor distorted resemblances. With his eye fixed on after ages, and with a firm indifference as to the prejudices, or the partialities of his own times, Sallust has reaped the fair reward of him, who, while he is honest in his commendation, is free in his censures; and who justly claims the great merit of an historian, the praise of fidelity and truth (57). While he must continue to delight, he will instruct posterity.

Such, together with the defective account of Cicero, and the partial character of Cæsar (both of which have been duly noticed), are the principal objections, that we find made to Sallust as a writer. They are, for the most part, only

the cavils of learned men, who were anxious to place themselves in the chair of criticism, and thought to secure reputation, by deviating from the common track (58). But singularity, we know, lives only for a season; sense and nature will prevail at last: *Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.* As the undoubted FATHER OF PHILOSOPHIC HISTORY, Sallust will maintain his ground among the Historians of Rome, and of antiquity: And it may be asserted with confidence, had a greater portion of his numerous works been preserved to us, that the merit of Livy and Tacitus, great as it is, would appear less transcendent in the eyes of mankind.

Early Editions of Sallust. Best subsequent Editions, in different forms.

III. It is now proper to give some account of the most remarkable Editions and Translations of our author, that have appeared in Europe, since the revival of learning.

THE first edition, or the *Editio princeps*, was published at Venice, by Vindelin de Spira, in the year 1470; and, since that time, various, and almost innumerable are the copies, which have been multiplied, in order to gratify the partiality of the public. The most valuable editions, in the Quarto form, are, that prepared for the Dauphin of France, and edited by Crispinus, at Paris, in 1674; that of Wasse, printed at Cambridge, in 1710; that of Cortius, at Leipzig, in 1724, and 1730; and that of Havercamp, at Amsterdam, in two volumes, in 1742; which last, whether for the purity of the text, the variety of the readings, or the copiousness and erudition of the Notes, has left nothing further to be desired by the critical reader.

THE best editions of a smaller size are, that printed by Aldus, 12mo, 1509, and 1521; that with various Notes, together with those of Gronovius, 8vo, Amsterdam, 1690; that by Vulpius, 1722; the Oxford and Glasgow editions, 12mo, 1701, and 1751; and that of Edinburgh, 1755. The celebrity of the last, for correctness and beauty, is well known. It was printed purposely for the prize, then offered by the University, for the most accurate edition of a Roman classic, and deservedly obtained it. Since that period, an elegant and valuable edition has been published in London, in imperial Octavo, 1789, by the late learned Henry Homer.

BESIDES these, there is a small, but excellent edition, without Notes, published by Miller, at Berlin, 12mo, 1751. In establishing the text of this little volume, the ingenuity and caprice of Cortius are happily tempered by the cautious diligence of Havercamp, and the judgment of its own editor; and it is the edition which has been used, in executing the *present translation.*

Idea of the Italian Translations of the historian.

THERE are few of the nations of Europe, who have not been ambitious to translate the writings of Sallust, and to hear him in their own language. The Italians can boast of at least four translations. The first was published at Venice, by Agostino Ortica, a native of Genoa, in Octavo, in 1518; the second by Carani, at Florence, also in Octavo, in 1550; the third by Spinola, in 1564; and the fourth by Savi, in 1761. There are, besides, many separate versions of the Catilinarian and Jugurthine Wars, and parts of the Fragments. Of the complete translations, the one by Spinola is held in the

greatest esteem in Italy. There is a Life of Sallust prefixed to the work, with a vocabulary of antient words and expressions; and the learned Valvasori has enriched the whole with Notes, and with Remarks moral and critical.

Of the French Translations.

THE French are possessed of a variety of translations. Previous to that of Baudoin, which appeared in 1617 and 1629, none of them are worthy of notice. That work was succeeded, in 1670, by the attempts of Du Teil and Cassagne, and afterwards by that of the Abbé Le Masson, in 1716. This writer seems to be the first among his countrymen, who had the merit of defending the character of the historian from the absurd imputations, that calumny and ignorance had endeavoured to fix upon it.

IN 1730, Le Masson was followed by the Abbé Thyvon, who accompanied his version with some prolix dissertations of but little value, and with critical, historical, and geographical illustrations. Lest the low, and illiberal abuse of Sallust, by Le Clerc, should not have sufficient currency in Latin, M. Thyvon, as we have seen, though he disbelieved the libel, had the servility, as well as folly, to turn it into French, and then to vindicate the historian by a feeble apology.—The whole version of Thyvon is tolerably faithful, but it has none of the strength, or terseness of the original.

THE critics of France were still dissatisfied with the dress, in which Sallust had been presented to their countrymen; accordingly M. Dotteville, the well-known translator of Tacitus, resolved to try his strength; and his version made its appearance, I believe, in 1760. The style of his Sallust, like that of

his Tacitus, is harsh and dry, and his fruitless endeavours to vie in brevity with either historian, are sufficient to prove (if such a proof were needful), how absurd an attempt it is, in any translator, for the sake of seizing some peculiar feature of resemblance, or some fancied grace of diction, to violate the genius of his native language.

The same thing may, in some degree, be said of M. Beauzée, Professor of Grammar in the Military College at Paris, who endeavoured to follow him in the same track. His version, however, is considerably smoother than that of Dotteville. It came out about ten years after the publication of the latter, and is, perhaps, the translation of Sallust the most faithful and accurate, that has ever appeared in the French language. This publication is accompanied with Notes, which, though not many in number, are always useful, and sometimes ingenious. Beauzée was a man of talents and learning. He composed a philosophical treatise on Grammar, and lived till the year 1789, about the commencement of the French Revolution.

In 1777, M. de Brosses, President of the Parliament of Dijon, gave to the world a history of Rome, during the Seventh century of the city, founded on the Fragments of Sallust. The account is both agreeable to the historian's plan, and is intended as a substitute for his principal work; but it is drawn up with the aid of other antient writers. In this undertaking, considerable spirit, and still more considerable industry, are displayed by M. de Brosses. The entire Jugurthine War, and Conspiracy of Catiline, are not only translated, and subjoined in their order, but every single sentence, as well as

Fragment of Sallust, that chances to be preserved by any Grammarian, or other antient writer, is most ingeniously interwoven with the body of the narrative. The work extends to Three Volumes 4to. It comprises, likewise, a Life of Sallust, which, notwithstanding some errours, shows a desire in the author to investigate the truth, and is not servilely copied from preceding critics or biographers.

THERE is certainly not in French, nor perhaps in any other language, a version of Sallust, that, upon the whole, can be compared with that of the President de Brosses. With taste sufficient to perceive, that it was by *idiomatic*, and not by *verbal* translation, that a tolerable transcript of a Greek or Roman author was to be obtained, he has made few attempts to rival the sententious brevity of the historian; and he succeeds the best, of course, where such attempts have been abandoned. If his efforts at all times are not equally vigorous, nor possessed equally of the ease of original composition, they yet show the true principles, on which classical translation should be cultivated; and they will secure, to their author, a place among those, who first brought into repute a most useful, but neglected department of modern literature.—I know not whether I should account it a fortunate circumstance, or otherwise, that the translation of Sallust, which is now offered to the public, was almost entirely finished, before that of the respectable President de Brosses chanced to fall into my hands.

SINCE the publication of M. de Brosses's work, a new version of Catiline's Conspiracy, with Notes literary and political, has appeared at Paris, in 1795, from the pen of M. Billecoq,

"French Citizen." Of this translation I cannot speak from my own knowledge. But common fame seems not to say, that the President's well-earned honours are in danger of being snatched away, by the Citizen of the French Republic.

Of the Translations of Germany.

WHILE the other nations of Europe were thus laudably employed, in endeavouring to render Sallust a denizen of their country, it is not to be supposed that the Germans were inactive. That learned nation has produced many translations of the historian, of which there are none, older than the last century, that deserve to be enumerated. The first I shall notice is that of Gottschling, 12mo, Halle, 1719, a production of no sort of merit. This author was greatly improved upon by Abbt, who published his version at Frankfort, in 8vo, in 1766: A more accurate edition came out in the following year, and another in 1800. The translation of Böttger next appeared at Leipzig, in 1771; that of Höck at Frankfort, in 1782 and 1796; and that of Wagner at Lemgo, in 1783; but they did little honour to German literature. Böttger is too tame and feeble; Höck, though a scholar, harsh and inelegant; and Wagner, who before had given bad translations of Cæsar, Suetonius, and Quintus Curtius, is to a degree careless and incorrect.

IN 1790, M. Weingierl, Director of the Choir at the abbey of Polling in Bavaria, entered the lists as a new competitor. His book was printed in 8vo, at Münich, and is remarkable for its energy and spirit. Were it not disfigured with inelegancies peculiar to the Bavarian dialect, it would rank high among the classical translations of Germany.

WITH a view to give a version of Sallust, that should be worthy of the original, M. Meisner, Professor in the University of Prague, and one of the politest scholars, and most popular writers in Germany, at length undertook the task. His translation of Catiline's Conspiracy appeared at Leipzig, in Quarto, in 1790, enriched with Notes, and a new Life of Sallust: But whether it has, as yet, been followed by the Jugurthine War, I have not been able to learn. This piece is laboured throughout with extraordinary diligence, and is worthy, on the whole, of the reputation of the author. A reader of taste, however, will discern in it a want of that ease and elegance, which are conspicuous in the original compositions of Professor Meisner. He evidently has, like several other translators, been seized with the ambition of displaying, what no modern language can with propriety attain, and what, if attained, would be no beauty in history, a brevity like that of the Roman writer. The Germans are sensible of the abruptness of his manner; and yet they *boast*, that in this peculiarity he has exceeded Sallust! It was in the same way that the celebrated Davanzati translated Tacitus. On an accurate calculation, it was discovered by the critics, that the words in the Italian were actually fewer in number than in the Latin; and thus a style was produced by Davanzati, which, in one species of affectation at least, is worse than the original.

HAVING offered thus much in favour of the Translation of M. Meisner, I wish I could, with truth, extend the same praise to the specimen of original composition, that accompanies the work, I mean, his attempt to delineate the historian. Independently of its want of interest as a biographical tract,

and its containing no critical view of the literary character, or writings of Sallust, it is, for the most part, filled with errours, and disfigured with prejudices. It is merely a transcript of the stale abuse of Le Clerc, without Le Clerc's apology for in some degree indulging in it, the want of more accurate investigation, than he had leisure to make, into a controverted topic. M. Meisner's merits, as a critical biographer, are more particularly investigated, in Essay First and Notes of the present work.

Besides these, it is said, that a still later German translation, by M. Schlüter, has been published at Münster, in 1795; but I am wholly unacquainted with its pretensions, or its merits. The work of M. de Brosses is also translated, or rather abridged, by the same author.

Of the Translations of Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland.

Of the old translations of Spain little need be said. Vidal y Noya, in 1529, produced a version, which, since that period, has gone through several editions. That of Sueiro came out at Antwerp, in 4to, in both 1554, and 1615. But the Spanish translation of Sallust, that does real honour to the country, is that of 1772, which issued from the Royal press at Madrid, in imperial 4to, its author, as it is said, the Infant Don Gabriel. The work is, indeed, a master-piece of typographical elegance. It is accompanied, besides Maps and Coins, with a Dissertation, from the pen of the learned Canon Francisco Perez Bayer, on the Phœnician Language and Alphabet; a subject which, by means of Medals, he has very ingeniously illustrated. This gentleman is by birth a German: He has resided long at Madrid, and is, I believe, still alive. Whether Dr Bayer, as is generally believed, lent his aid to the royal

translator I shall not pretend to determine; but the work bears considerable marks of fidelity, and erudition. The translator (which is rather singular) seems not to have possessed all the best editions of Sallust.

THIS splendid work, for every reason, stands high in estimation in Spain. In the eyes of the learned of that country, as I am informed, it derives a peculiar grace, as well as value, from abounding in *antient* Spanish words and phrases, which the translator has purposely introduced, and which are supposed to render its resemblance to the original more complete! This, to an English palate, is a curious style of transcript, and rather too much of the school of Messrs. Meisner and Davanzati. We should not at present, I believe, value a translation of the Roman author the more, for being "done in English," such as was current in the days of our illustrious Queen Elizabeth.

OF Danish, Swedish, or Dutch translations, I am not enabled with any certainty to speak. There is one in Danish, published at Copenhagen, in 8vo, in 1702, by Wallenberg; one in Dutch, Rotterdam, 1657, 12mo; and a better, by Brink, Amsterdam, 1798, 8vo, with copious Annotations.

IN Russian there does not seem to be any translation of Sallust. When the Empress Catherine, a few years since, ordered a report to be made of such of the antient classics as had been naturalized in that language, it appeared, that of those of Rome, Cæsar, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, together with the treatise on Germany by Tacitus, composed the catalogue.

It is probable that, under the great Catharine, and even under her successor, a *Conspiracy* was not among the topics, on which an author could with safety employ his pen.

Account of the English Translations.

HAVING taken a cursory view of the principal foreign translations, I shall, last of all, enumerate the attempts, that have been made among ourselves, to give a respectable version of the Roman historian.

THE works of Sallust seem, very soon after the revival of literature, to have become popular in England, as our Queen Elizabeth is said, by Camden, to have translated them; and a printed version of the Jugurthine War appeared as early as the time of Henry VIII. It was published in Folio, and executed by Sir Alexander Barclay, Priest, by the command of the Duke of Norfolk. The book is without a date; but it seems to have come out about 1540, among the first years of the Reformation. It was twice re-published during 1557; and, in one of the editions, accompanied with Catiline's Conspiracy, translated by Thomas Paynel. In 1629, the two principal pieces of Sallust were undertaken by a single hand, namely, William Crosse, and printed in 8vo, at London. About the end of the seventeenth century, the version of Barclay, from the great change that had taken place in the language, and even that of Crosse, began to be antiquated; accordingly, "The works of Sallust, made English, according to the present idiom of the Speech," likewise "A new translation of all the works of the faithful historian Sallust," were published at London, the former in 8vo, in 1687, the latter in Folio, in 1688, and both from the pens of anonymous authors.

In 1683, also, there appeared an improved version of Catiline's Conspiracy, by Caleb Calle.

Of these early translations much need not be said. They are all "faithfully done in English," according to the taste of the times; which, if the sense was tolerably rendered, was not solicitous for accuracy, and still less for elegance of diction.

It might be expected, that the beginning of the last, and the close of the foregoing century, which witnessed some noble efforts of poetical translation, should also produce a proportionate improvement in our versions of the prose-classics. Mr John Rowe (whose namesake Nicolas has given a translation of Lucan so excellent, as still to be held in deserved esteem), undertook, about this period, to translate the works of Sallust, together with the principal Fragments. The book appeared at London, in 12mo, in 1709; to which was prefixed a very short, but candid account of the historian, and his writings. This translation by Rowe, in which the sense of the author is given with correctness, seems to have been once extremely popular. Between 1709 and 1750, it underwent, at least, four different editions: But the poverty, feebleness, and colloquial barbarism of the style, have forfeited its reputation with the English public.

During this interval, Mr John Clarke, Schoolmaster at Hull, endeavoured to persuade the world that he was the only person, of all those that had attempted it, who was properly qualified for the task of translating the prose-classics. He, therefore, among other specimens, favoured the public with

what he called "a free translation" of Sallust. This version, which is sufficiently servile, is really free from any prominent quality whatever, except the intolerable conceit, and petulance of the translator. It came out at London, in 8vo, in 1734, together with the Latin text, and a copious Dissertation, in praise of this, and of other "free" performances of its author.

THE next writer, who tried his strength in this undertaking, was Mr Gordon, the well-known translator of Tacitus. His performance appeared in 4to, in 1744, and was again printed in 1769. After the very complete account, which is given by Mr Murphy, in his Introduction to Tacitus, of this gentleman's merits as a translator, it is superfluous to enlarge upon the subject. Suffice it to say, that his version of Sallust is certainly superior to any that preceded it. It possesses considerably more ease than is discovered in his Tacitus; and, as he seems here to have abstained from imitating the peculiarities of the original, he escapes the folly, which Mr Murphy justly lays to his charge, in the former work, of burlesquing the English language.

ABOUT the same time, we find, two other competitors contended with Gordon, in the honourable task of giving a transcript of our author, viz. Mr Henry Lee of Clarehall, Cambridge, and Mr William Cooke, Vicar of Enford. The work of Mr Lee came out in 4to, in 1744; and Mr Cooke's in 8vo, two years after. Scholars as both gentlemen undoubtedly were, it cannot be said that they were successful translators. Their versions, though faithful, are harsh and uncouth, and they are unable to throw off the fetters of literal interpre-

tation. The publication of Mr Cooke appears the superior, on this account, that he has subjoined, to his Sallust, a review of the history of Rome, from the termination of the war with Jugurtha, to the Conspiracy of Catiline, a period of two-and-forty years, unquestionably one of the busiest, although, at the same time, one of the darkest, in the Roman annals. To the young student it is valuable as an accurate compilation, by means of which the great chasm, occasioned by the loss of the writings of Sisenna, Sallust, and Livy, is in some measure supplied: And if the composition is entitled to little praise, yet the facts are authentic, the delineations are impartial, and the references are copious to original authorities.

NOTWITHSTANDING all that was thus done, there seemed still sufficient room left for improvement. In 1751, Dr Rose published, in 12mo, a new translation of the Catilinarian and Jugurthine Wars, with the four Orations of Cicero against Catiline. The whole is comprized in a single volume, remarkable for the compactness of its form, and the neatness of its typography. Another edition appeared about six years after. This translation by Dr Rose is justly entitled to the esteem in which it has been held, and the author himself to considerable praise, for his endeavours to combine the advantages of a free, and of a literal version. That he is under obligations to both Clarke and Gordon, and particularly to the latter, is apparent: But, while he has avoided the coarseness of the one, he has surpassed the ability of the other. His chief defect proceeds from what constitutes the great difficulty in all classical translation, the uniting a *clear transfusion of the sense* with the *ease and freedom of original composition*. To the critical reader

this will be abundantly obvious, if he compare the version of Sallust with the original pieces of Dr Rose himself; with his account, for example, of the Life of the historian, which he has prefixed to the volume, and which is by no means deficient in force or spirit. In the speeches, too, where the antient writers laid out all their energy, and in which they should be followed by a like effort of the translator, this author is cold and languid; and he rises, on no occasion, above the level of ordinary narrative.

Not long after this period, Mr John Mair, Rector of the Grammar School at Perth, resolved to give a version of Sallust, on a plan somewhat different from that of any of his predecessors. Perceiving that translation, in order to be both useful and elegant, should consist of two kinds, that which is *free* and *idiomatic*, and that which is *close* and *verbal*, he directed his attention to the latter object. The version which he offered to the public, though humble in its pretensions, being executed in a style "as literal as possible," came out at Edinburgh in 12mo, in 1756, together with the Latin text, and has deservedly gone through four different impressions, since that period. It is one of the most useful editions, that has appeared, of the Roman writer. The words of Sallust are accompanied, as nearly as may be, with correspondent English expressions; and where more are requisite, in order to complete the sense, they are marked in the Italic character.—It was this method of Mr Mair's, of enabling the reader to separate, with one glance of his eye, the necessary from the more arbitrary parts of a translation, that suggested the idea of a similar exercise for the

young student, upon a freer principle, as is exemplified in the Appendix to the present work.

THE latest attempt that has been made to give a good translation of Sallust, extends only to the first of his pieces, the Conspiracy of Catiline, to which are subjoined the Four well-known orations of Cicero. It was published in London, in 8vo, under the fictitious name of George Frederick Sydney, in the year 1795, with a Dedication and Notes, addressed to the Earl of Lauderdale. This production is more properly to be classed with those of a political, than of a classical description. It has been attributed, but with what justice I shall not say, to the late elegant Translator of Tacitus. From internal evidence, indeed, it bears marks of that masterly pen: But it is apparently a hasty performance, every way inferior to the noble version of Tacitus, and with little of the force and spirit, which the Dedication and Notes so conspicuously display.

Views of the Author in regard to the present work.

I THINK it may be said, that, of late years, a new era has been formed in prose translation, in Britain. The masterly efforts of a Melmoth, a Murphy, and a few others, have given ground for the assertion; and the admirable "Essay on Translation," by Mr Tytler of Edinburgh, has unfolded the principles, and established the rules of the art. With versions of the antient poets superior, perhaps, to any in Europe, an emulation seems at length roused to vindicate the literary character of our country, in respect to the prose-classics. Instead of our former dry, and feeble transcripts, we now see the possibility of combining some vigour and elegance with such productions.

It has become our object to translate more by a correspondence of idioms, than by a mere interpretation of words, and to exhibit a style, such as can be endured by an Englishman of taste. While the spirit of the originals is not suffered wholly to evaporate, we have been taught to clothe them in language, which those antient authors would not have blushed to write, *had they written in English.*

It is on principles like these that the present translation is attempted. How far attention and assiduity may have surmounted the difficulties, with which such an effort is attended, it is for the public to determine. If the TRANSLATION itself shall contribute to exercise the industry, and form the style of the young student; if these ESSAYS shall in any wise promote the love of taste, and illustrate the principles of genuine criticism, it will be to the Author a sufficient recompence for the time which he has spent, on a far more laborious, than a splendid undertaking.

END OF ESSAY SECOND.

NOTES

ON

ESSAY SECOND,

ON THE

LITERARY CHARACTER, AND WRITINGS

OF

SALLUST,

&c.

NOTES

ON

ESSAY SECOND.

Page 229.

(1.) *Rudis fuit priscorum vita, et sine literis,* says Pliny (Hist. Nat. L. XVIII. 29.); and Horace, in more direct terms, gives evidence to the same effect: Page 229.

> Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis:
> Et post Punica bella quietus, quærere cœpit
> Quid Sophocles, et Thespis, et Æschylus utile ferrent.
>
> Epist. L. II. 1. v. 161.

Any considerable advancement in literature is, with good reason, placed by him not only after the Punic Wars, but after the final conquest of the Grecian states. The latter, he observes, after being subdued by the *arms* of Rome, in their turn established over her a milder empire, by the introduction of learning and the arts. He adds, that, although the rude manners of Italy *(Agreste Latium)* were gradually softened, and its taste improved, yet it had not, in his time, acquired the last polish. Even in that celebrated age, there were still traces of barbarism remaining in the language of his country.

Page 230.

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio. Sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, et grave virus
Munditiæ pepulere. Sed in longum tamen ævum
Manserunt, hodieque manent vestigia ruris.
Epist. L. II. 1. v. 156.

Lucretius, in like manner, refers the knowledge of painting, poetry, statuary, and the other arts, to a slow progress, and to a late period. See De Rer. Nat. L. V. 1452. Licinius, also, a poet of nearly the age in question, has these antient verses, which Horace appears to have had in view, and which place the first dawn of improvement during the Second Punic War;

Punico bello secundo, musa pennato gradu
Intulit se in bellicosam Romuli gentem.
Ap. Aul. Gell. L. XVII. 21.

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(2.) It is certainly somewhat singular, that the Romans should have so long continued insensible to the superior cultivation of the Greek states, which in some sort surrounded their territory: For, besides Sicily, which was possessed by that elegant people, the south-east of Italy itself, according to the antient division of it, was accounted a part of Greece, and called *Magna Græcia*, which likewise included Sicily (See Liv. L. VII. 26. XXVI. 21.—Strab. L. VI. p. 253. Edit. Casaub.). But the policy of the Romans was to preserve, as long as possible, the roughness of the martial spirit, which they thought foreign arts would destroy. Even so late as when Fabius Maximus reduced Tarentum, A. U. C. 544., during the second Punic War, he sent the gold found in the city to the treasury at Rome, but he despised the statues and pictures, as he said, of their "angry Gods."—Liv. XXXVII. 16.—Plutarch in Marcel.

Marcellus was the first person, who had the ambition to open the

eyes of the Romans to the fine objects of Grecian art. When he took Syracuse, about three years before the period just now mentioned, notwithstanding the genius of Archimedes, and the valour of the inhabitants (Polyb. L. VIII. 5.—9.), he fairly owned, when charged before the Senate, that his reason for so completely stripping the place of every thing that was elegant (*Nihil præter mœnia et tecta Syracusanis relictum.* Liv. L. XXVI. 30.), was the desire to introduce a taste for the fine arts at Rome; and he gloried in being the first, who turned towards them the attention of his unpolished countrymen. Page 230.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τέτοις ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ πρὸς τὲς Ἕλληνας, ὡς τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ θαυμαστὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκ ἐπισταμένες τιμᾷν καὶ θαυμάζειν Ῥωμαίες διδάξας. Plutarch. in Marcell. XXI. Edit. Reiske. It is from this time that historians agree in dating the rise of taste and cultivation at Rome, and (as Livy observes), in imitation of Marcellus, the licence, and the rage for universal plunder. *Marcellus . . ornamenta urbis, signa, tabulasque, quibus abundabant Syracusæ, Romam devexit. Hostium, quidem, illa spolia, et parta belli jure: Cæterùm indè primum initium mirandi Græcarum artium opera, licentiæque huic sacra profanaque omnia vulgò spoliandi, factum est.* L. XXV. 40.

When the fashion once began of adorning the capital with works of literature, and with specimens of the arts, it is wonderful how rapidly they accumulated. In about three-score years, Rome became the great repository of every thing valuable for erudition and elegance. Towards the end of the second Punic War, the elder Scipio imported a number of wrought vases, &c. from Spain and Africa (Liv. L.XXVI. 47.). A. U. C. 557., *i. e.* 196 years before our era, Flaminius gloriously gave liberty to Greece, by triumphing over Philip, king of Macedon, and Nabis tyrant of Lacedæmon, and brought over a profusion of vases and statues (Liv. L. XXXIV. 52.). But the glory of this general was greatly surpassed by Paulus Æmilius; who, in 585, led king Perseus, the successor of Philip, in chains to Rome. Æmilius's triumph was one of the grandest recorded in the history of

Page 230. the republic. It lasted three days; and that space of time was scarcely sufficient to exhibit, to the astonished Romans, all the wealth, and elegant spoils of the vanquished. Æmilius nobly reserved for himself only the Library of the captive monarch; an invaluable collection, which, as well as that of the statues and paintings, had been accumulating since the reign of Alexander the Great. From the Roman general's address to Perseus in Greek (Liv. XLV. 8.), we see that he was a scholar, and master of that language; and the admirable education, which he gave his sons, transmitted his taste to the succeeding generation. See Plutarch. in Æmil.—Liv. L. XLV. 33. 34.

A. U. C. 607., Scipio Africanus, the younger, destroyed Carthage, and Mummius sacked Corinth; from both of which they made importations of prodigious magnitude and value. Scipio as greatly exceeded the generality of the nobles of that day in taste and learning, as his cotemporary Mummius was below them (*Homo doctissimus atque humanissimus . . Neque quisquam hoc Scipione elegantiùs intervalla negotiorum otio dispunxit.* Cic. in Verr. IV.—Vell. Paterc. L. I. 13.). The anecdote, concerning Mummius's notion of the productions in painting and statuary by the ablest masters, is well known, and was laughed at, even at that period. Having ordered some vessels, laden with these, for transportation to Italy, he gave strict injunctions to the commanders, to be careful of the cargo; assuring them, at the same time, that whatever articles were lost he would oblige them to *make anew*, on their arrival at Rome. *Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut, captâ Corintho, cùm maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent,* novas *eos reddituros.* Vell. Paterc. L. I. 13. The story of the picture of Bacchus, by Aristides, which the same brave, but illiterate officer forced from king Attalus, and on which Polybius saw the Roman soldiers playing at dice, is not much less ludicrous. See Strab. L. VIII. p. 381.—Plin. Hist. Nat. L. XXXV. 4.

Thus it happened at Rome, from the opposite temper of some of the greatest generals, of Fabius and Marcellus, of Mummius and Scipio, that two opposite parties were formed in the state, of which the one strenuously urged the introduction, and the other the exclusion, of Greek improvements. The former, however, soon prevailed; as we find Cato the Censor among its last opponents. It was in allusion to the corruption, which arts and luxury might one day introduce, that he made his celebrated remark, in addressing the people; *Infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracusis illata sunt huic urbi;* a saying, of which the wit was no less pointed, than the truth was ultimately and completely fulfilled. Page 230.

Notwithstanding the length of this Note, I cannot help adding, that it was to the accomplishments of the poet Ennius that learning was indebted, for a favourable change in Cato's sentiments. Charmed with the merit and genius of the man, he relented, at length, from the severity of his character, and even assumed the poet as his companion, during his Prætorship in Sardinia; an instance of liberality (says Cornelius Nepos, who records the circumstance), that reflects upon the Censor no less true glory, than all the pomp and pride of his Sardinian triumph: *Quod non minoris æstimamus, quàm amplissimum quemlibet Sardiniensem triumphum.* Frag. Vit. Caton.

(3.) In promoting the search after these elegant objects, there is reason to think, that the private rapacity of the governors of provinces at least kept pace with the diligence of Consular generals. The depredations of the former had indeed arrived at an immoderate height, in the time of Cicero, as may be seen from his pleadings against Verres, for his Sicilian malversations. See particularly Orat. IV. sub. init. Juvenal, also, in his honest, and vigorous manner, has set their practices in a strong point of view. The lines begin,

> Non idem gemitus olim, nec vulnus erat par
> Damnorum; sociis florentibus, et modò victis, &c.

Page 230. And afterwards he says,

Referebant navibus altis
Occulta spolia, et plures de pace triumphos.

See the whole passage, in Sat. VIII. v. 98.—139; from which it appears, that the poet means to insinuate, that Rome was probably even more enriched, by the secret depredations of her ordinary provincial magistrates, than by the known, and avowed spoils of her military commanders.

(4.) It is certain that the character of the Greeks, whether from political causes, or a peculiar felicity of climate, displayed a versatility and an elegance, which the Romans, even in their best periods, could never be said to boast. By the one, both arts and letters were, from the beginning, highly esteemed, and, by consequence, assiduously cultivated; while, in the other, a sternness of temper, that long disdained them, produced, perhaps, greater severity of virtue, but far less amiable manners.

The passages in Cicero's writings are almost innumerable, in which he admits the striking superiority of the Greeks. *Doctrinâ Græcia nos omni literarum genere superabat.* Tuscul. Disput. L. I. 1. *Meos amicos, in quibus est studium, in Græciam mitto, id est, ad Græcos ire jubeo; ut ea à fontibus potiùs hauriant, quàm rivulos consectentur.* Academ. Quæst. L. I. 2. &c. &c. In the fine enumeration, given by Virgil, of the various arts, in which other nations excelled his country, he specifies the statuary of Corinth, the eloquence of Athens, and the astronomy or astrology of the Chaldæans and Egyptians; reserving only, for Rome, the great arts of war and government. On the subject of eloquence, however, Virgil purposely dissembled, during the reign of Augustus. He thought it more prudent to admit what seemed a doubtful inferiority on the part of the Romans, than run the risk of recalling, to his prince's recollection, the merit of Cicero, who had been so basely sacrificed to his ambition.

Excudent alii spirantia molliùs æra, Page 230.
Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus:
Orabunt causas meliùs; cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.

Æn. L. VI. 847.

Horace gives the Greeks the same praise for their *Ingenium*, their incomparable genius. He likewise adds what, in his opinion, was the cause of Roman inferiority in works of literature, viz. the very different method, practised by the two nations, of training up their youth, and the mean, and sordid notions of gain, so diligently instilled into those of Rome, as even to check the desire of any liberal pursuit. The lines are spirited and beautiful:

Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, præter laudem nullius avaris.
Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
Discunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat
Filius Albini, si de quincunce remota est
Uncia, quid superat? &c.
——An hæc animos ærugo et cura peculi
Cùm semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
Posse linenda cedro, et levi servanda cupresso?

De Art. Poët. 323.

In another place he exclaims, in derision, against the same low, and hateful avarice;

O cives, cives! quærenda pecunia primùm est,
Virtus post nummos! Hæc Janus summus ab imo
Perdocet: Hæc recinunt juvenes dictata senesque,
Lævo suspensi loculos, tabulamque lacerto.

Epist. L. I. 1. 53.

Page 230. See, also, on the same subject, Carm. L. III. 24. v. 42.—Sat. L. II. 5. v. 8.—Epist. L. I. 6. v. 36. Yet Horace, in these passages, seems to have brought forward the collateral only, not the prime, and efficient causes, that touch the argument. Some of these, as they appear to me, are just hinted at in the text, as well as in this Note; but fully to illustrate them would require almost an Essay by itself.

So much for the superior genius of the Greeks, in the department of literature; and, in works of art, it was not less remarkable. It is a well known fact, that, in the most cultivated periods of the Roman empire, all the best artists at Rome, such as eminent painters, sculptors, &c. were Greeks. In a collection of such gems, as have the names of the artists engraved on them (published before the middle of the last century, by Baron Stosche, at Florence), it is singular that they are all Greek: And, among the several inscriptions under statues and basso relievos, given by the same antiquary in his Preface, it is remarkable, that there is only *one* artist among them, who seems to have been a Roman.

The Romans practised the art of painting as little as that of sculpture. Neither was held as an honourable occupation, and, therefore, it was not probable that they should advance to perfection. *Honos alit artes* (says Cicero), *omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloriâ; jacentque ea semper, quæ apud quosque improbantur.* There was, however, one person of distinction among them, who happened pretty early to study painting, A. U. C. 450. He was of the great Fabian family. From his turn for painting, he acquired the name of Fabius Pictor, and was father to the first Roman historian. After his time, says Pliny, the art has not been seen except in vulgar hands (*Non est spectata honestis manibus.* Hist. Natur. L. XXXV. 4.); for the Romans, like their descendants the modern Italians, did not consider the character of the Artist, and that of the Patrician, as entirely consistent with each other. Fabius himself was so pleased with the labours of the pencil, that he wrote his name under his pictures, and particularly under those, with

which he decorated the temple of Safety at Rome. This, though usual now, was considered, in him, as mean and ridiculous; and accordingly it is recorded, by Valerius Maximus, as an instance of weakness and vanity in the man, who thought, by the fame of a contemptible acquirement, that he could add to the glory of Consulships and triumphs. *Illa verò etiam (gloria) à claris viris interdum ex humillimis rebus petita est. Nam, quid sibi voluit C. Fabius, nobilissimus civis? qui, cùm in æde Salutis, quam C. Junius Bubulcus dedicaverat, parietes pinxisset, nomen his suum inscripsit. Id enim demùm ornamenti familiæ, Consulatibus et Sacerdotiis, et triumphis celeberrimæ, deerat! Cæterùm, sordido studio deditum ingenium, qualemcunque illum laborem suum silentio obliterari noluit.* Exemp. Memorab. L. VIII. 14. vi. Page 230.

(5.) It seems evident, from the *Tabulæ Eugubinæ*, a celebrated Etruscan monument, published with Notes by the learned Passeri, that the Etruscans of old spoke an antient dialect of the Greek or Latin, which was originally the same language. But there is no reason to think, as some grammarians seem to apprehend, that the Latin was a corruption of the Greek, as the French and Italian are of the Latin, but that it was an original dialect, spoken by the Pelasgi. See Thomassin. Glossar in Præfat:—Monboddo's Orig. & Prog. of Language, Vol. I. p. 605. &c. The Pelasgi are said to have been the original inhabitants of Greece, and were so named from their wandering disposition (ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης. Strab. L. IX. p. 397.); and hence the Greeks are frequently called Pelasgi, by the classical authors. See Virg. Æn. L. II. 83. VI. 503. &c.

The form of the Latin letters, says Tacitus, was the same as the characters of the antient Greeks (*Formæ literis Latinis quæ veterrimis Græcorum.* Annal. L. XI. 14.); and the elder Pliny says, that the old Greek letters were pretty similar to those used in Latin; appealing, at the same time, to a very antient monument, then extant at

Page 230, 231. Rome, and that had been brought thither from Delphi. *Veteres (literas) Græcas fuisse easdem pœnè, quæ nunc sunt Latinæ: Indicio erit Delphica tabula antiqui æris, quæ est hodiè in palatio, dono principum Minervæ, dicata in bibliothecâ, cum inscriptione tali;* Ναυσικράτης Τισαμένε Ἀθηναῖος κόρα καὶ ἀθηνᾷ ἀνέθηκεν. Hist. Nat. L. VII. 58. These are the same letters mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (L. III. pp. 200. 201. Edit. Rhodom.), in which Linus and Orpheus wrote their poems; and it is probable they were used by the Pelasgi, even before Cadmus brought the Phœnician letters into Greece. See Squire's Enquiry into the Origin of the Greek language;—Oger. de Ling. Græc. & Lat. Hæbraic. Affinitat.—Also, Monboddo, Orig. and Prog. of Language, Vol. I. p. 605. et seqq. II. p. 143. The popular opinion among the antients, however, was different from this: Accordingly Lucan marks out the Phœnicians as the first people, who taught the art of "stopping the flying sound;"

> Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
> Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.
> Pharsal. L. III. 220.

See further, on the same subject, Warburton's Div. Legat. of Moses, Vol. III. p. 66. &c. Also, Mem. de l'Academie des Inscript. Tom. XXXII. p. 212.

Lord Monboddo supposes, and with considerable probability, that the languages spoken in Europe, Asia, and some parts of Africa, are all dialects of one radical, and parent tongue, probably invented in Egypt. Some learned men argue for the belief of a Universal Language, but they fail to prove its existence by facts. See Bullet's Dict. of Univers. Lang. (published with his Celtic Dictionary) a work, at least, not deficient in ingenuity.

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(6.) Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who is much more accurate, than any Latin writer, in regard to Roman antiquities, has preserved

a particular account of the peopling of Italy. From Arcadia, he tells us (that fruitful source of so many colonies), a body of adventurers, under the conduct of Œnotrus, landed in Italy, about seventeen generations before the Trojan war, and, having expelled the more feeble, and barbarous tribes of Sicilians, the first inhabitants of the soil, they possessed themselves of that part of the country, occupied by the Umbri. These Greeks were called Aborigines, from their predilection for a mountainous country; which name they retained until the Trojan war, when they were denominated Latins, from their king Latinus, and, last of all, Romans, from Romulus, who founded Rome. This was the 1st Greek colony. The 2d consisted of a body of Pelasgi, from Hæmonia or Thessaly, who soon joined their countrymen. The 3d was the colony led by Evander, about threescore years before the Trojan war, which settled on the Palantine Hill, afterwards called Palatine. 4th. Another detachment, not long after, appeared under Hercules, at the time when Spain, and other western districts of Europe, were over-run by that hero, and the straits south of the former obtained his name. These settlers were kindly received by Evander their countryman, and occupied the eminence called Saturnius, and, in process of time, the Capitoline Hill. The 5th, and last colony that came over, was composed of Æneas and his Trojans (originally also natives of Arcadia), on their escape from Troy. The whole account is circumstantially given by the assiduous, and elegant writer just now mentioned (See Rom. Antiq. L. I. 8.—49.); and it is summarily recapitulated, before he proceeds to occurrences, beyond which neither Virgil nor Livy ascend in their accounts. Page 231.

(7.) It is from Dionysius Halicarnassensis, likewise, that we learn the prevalence of the Æolic, in the Latin dialect of the Greek. During the two-and-twenty years, spent by that indefatigable author at Rome, in collecting materials for his history, he made himself completely master of the dialect in question, and hence his account of the

Page 231. early ages is particularly valuable. All, he says, that the Roman language had suffered by the intermixture of so many different tribes, was an erroneous pronunciation in a few instances; Τὸ μὴ πᾶσι φθόγγοις ὀρθοεπεῖν. Rom. Antiq. L. I. 57. p. 76. Edit. Sylburg.

(8.) Some idea of the extent of this fluctuation may be formed from the circumstance, that the language in use at Rome, during the age of Junius Brutus, the first consul, had, when Polybius wrote his history, become almost unintelligible. Polybius has preserved a copy of the first treaty, made between the Romans and Carthaginians, under the Consulship of Junius Brutus, and Marcus Horatius; of which, he says, the language was so different from the Latin then in use, that it puzzled the most learned men in Rome to understand it. Τηλικαύτη γὰρ ἡ διαφορὰ γέγονε τῆς διαλέκτου, καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τῆς νῦν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν, ὥστε τοὺς συνετωτάτους ἐνία μόλις ἐξ ἐπιστάσεως διευκρινεῖν. L. III. 22. p. 245. Edit. Gronov. The passage is curious; and a translation of the treaty, which seems remarkable for the simplicity of its style, is subjoined by the historian. What is here said, by Polybius, concerning the antient Roman language, may, at first sight, seem to contradict the assertion of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, as mentioned in the foregoing Note; but an examination of the context will evince that their observations apply to different objects.

(9.) This method of making the history of a people, and the history of their language corroborate and verify each other, will appear reasonable to any one, who compares, with moderate attention, the Greek and Latin tongues. The Latin wants a most material part of speech, the Article; and it is wonderfully inferior to the Greek in variety of flection, of all others the most ingenious device in the structure of language. Besides this, it is deficient in several tenses of the verb, possessed by its parent; and it has neither the present participle passive, nor the past participle active. In the same manner, an op-

posite conclusion may with no less justness be drawn, in regard to the history of the Greeks, from the nature of their language. Its copiousness, its majesty, its numerousness, and, above all, its amplitude, yet extreme regularity of derivation and inflection, lead us to regard it as the work of a people highly gifted, it is true, by nature, but, at the same time probably, free from any intermixture with barbarous or foreign tribes. Page 231.

The truth is, the copiousness and expression of this first of tongues as far exceeds that of its Latin offspring, as the Latin surpasses all modern languages. By derivation and inflection, as well as by its four different dialects, the Greek possesses the means of multiplying itself almost *ad infinitum*, and thereby conferring an unequalled variety on discourse. Nothing, therefore, can be more absurd than the vanity of Cicero, in maintaining, in opposition to the learned of his time, that the Latin is richer, and more copious than the Greek (*Linguam Latinam non modò non inopem, sed locupletiorem etiam quàm Græcam.* De Fin. L. I. 3.). His friends, we find, saw and laughed at such fits of arrogance. But we should remember, that to vie with Greece was a glorious ambition; and that no man could hope, by his compositions, to bear away the palm from that unrivalled people, if Cicero failed in the attempt. *Sæpe diximus* (says he), *et quidem cum aliquâ querelâ, nos non modò non vinci à Græcis verborum copiâ, sed esse in eâ etiam superiores.* De Fin. L. III. 2. The argumentative proof, which he brings of his position, is indeed not strong. The Greeks, he alleges, have but one word, namely Πόνος, to signify both *labor* and *dolor*, two things very different; entirely overlooking Ὀδύνη, λύπη, ὠδὶς, ἄχος, and a variety of others, for the Latin *dolor*: And then, with the triumph of a man, who had gained a victory, he exultingly exclaims; *O verborum inops interdum, quibus abundare te semper putas Græcia!* Quintilian is much more candid. In the parallel, which he draws between the two languages, he does not venture even to urge the comparison, where expression and elo-

Page 231. cution are concerned. *Circa rationem eloquendi vix habere imitationis locum.* Inst. Orator. L. XII. 10. p. 899. Edit. Hack.

As dead languages, the only light, in which they now can be considered by us, it must not be denied, that the Latin does possess one superiority over the Greek, and that is, that it admits, in its prose, of more transposition, or, what has been called by some, "the order of the imagination." Its style, therefore, although to the learner not so easy as that of the Greek, becomes often more diversified; and hence it may be said to give greater pleasure to the reader. Quintilian, I think, somewhere notices this quality; and Cicero possibly had an eye to it, in his well-meant, but overstrained eulogium.

(10.) *Nil in poëtis supra Livium Andronicum.* Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. X. 2. Livius Andronicus brought his first piece upon the stage A. U. C. 510, or, more properly, 514. (*i. e.* A. C. 239.), during the Consulship of Caius Claudius, and Marcus Tuditanus.—Cic. Tuscul. L. I. 1.—De Clar. Orator. XVIII.—De Senect. XIV.—Liv. L. VII. 2. The first Punic war being finished in the foregoing year, the Romans had then leisure to turn their attention to the arts of peace; and they, at length, shut the temple of Janus, which had been constantly open since the death of Numa, during the astonishing period of four hundred and thirty seven years! Andronicus was the first who attempted narrative, as well as dramatic poetry, and composed, besides many dramas, the Roman history, in no fewer than Two-and-twenty Books. See Aul. Gell. L. XVII. 21. &c.

Although Andronicus was certainly, in point of time, the first writer, yet Ennius more justly lays claim to the title of Father of the Roman poetry:

> Primus amœno
> Detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam,
> Per gentes Italas hominum quæ clara clueret,
> Lucret. L. I. 118.

Ennius was born, A. U. C. 515, at Rudiæ in Calabria (Cic. de Clar. Orator. XVIII. Pro Arch. X.—Sil. Ital. XII. 396.); and he composed near forty plays, besides his celebrated Annals of the Punic War, a heroic poem on his friend Scipio Africanus. See Cic. pro. Arch. ubi sup.—De Nat. Deor. L. I. 42. The fragments of Ennius, that still remain, are sufficient to convince us how much Lucretius and Virgil are both indebted to his compositions. Ovid, in two lines, has given his real character; Page 231.

> Utque suo Martem cecinit gravis Ennius ore,
> Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis.
>
> Trist. L. I. 423.

(11.) WITHOUT particularly entering into the biography, or the merits of these poets, which would swell the present Notes to an unreasonable size, it may be remarked, as somewhat singular in the history of human genius, how often the early Dramatic writers have proved equal, if not superior, to those who came after them. Even down to the days of Quintilian, Rome had produced nothing, that could vie with the tragedies of Pacuvius and Accius, unless it was the Medea of Ovid, or the Thyestes of Varius, pieces so much valued by the antients, but which are now unfortunately lost. The same thing may be observed, in the history of the drama, in England, France, and Germany. The productions of a Shakespeare, a Moliere, or a Lessing, have never yet been supplanted by the best efforts of their successors.

(12.) THERE are few circumstances, in antient times, that strike us as more wonderful, than the refinement and elegance, which the drama displayed, in the hands of Terence; in a word, a correctness of sentiment, and a purity of style, alike beyond the efforts of his cotemporaries, and the imitation of his successors, for at least a century after the period when he flourished. It is a phenomenon, for which

Page 231. his residence at Athens, and study of the Attic models of Apollodorus and Diphilus, and particularly of Menander, are insufficient to account. Something more satisfactory may be gathered from a passage in Cicero, who tells us, that, even in that age, particular families at Rome valued themselves on their *domestic* cultivation of the Latin tongue; and, in these families, a striking purity of speech, he says, both in men and women, was observable, through several generations. He instances those of the Scipios and the Lælii, the Cornelii and the Gracchi, and several others, whose dialect had not suffered by an absence from the capital, or perhaps been vitiated by foreign intermarriages. *Mitto C. Lælium, P. Scipionem. Ætatis illius ista fuit laus, tanquam innocentiæ, sic Latinè loquendi; nec omnium tamen. Nam illorum æquales, Cæcilium et Pacuvium, malè locutos videmus. Sed omnes tum ferè, qui nec extra urbem hanc vixerant, nec eos aliqua barbaries domestica infuscaverat, rectè loquebantur.* De Clar. Orat. LXXIV.—*Legimus epistolas Corneliæ, matris Gracchorum: Apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos, quàm in sermone matris. Auditus est nobis Læliæ, C. F., sæpe sermo. Ergo illam patris elegantiâ tinctam vidimus: Et filias ejus Mucias ambas . . et neptes Licinias,* &c. Id. LVIII.—See also Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. I.

It was in such society as this that Terence must have formed his style; and it is the only rational supposition, on which we can account for its superiority. It seems to have been a surmise, current at the time, and even long after believed by many, that the pen of one or other of his noble, and elegant friends, Lælius and Scipio, was visible in his productions. *Secutus sum Terentium* (says Cicero), *cujus fabellæ, propter elegantiam sermonis, putabantur à C. Lælio scribi* (Epist. ad Attic. L. VII. 3.). Quintilian observes, *Licet Terentii scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur; quæ tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima* (Inst. Orator. L. X. 1.); and Suetonius, on the authority of Cornelios Nepos, relates a story of Lælius having once repeated a part of the Heautontimorumenos to his wife, as his own com-

position. The fact is, that Terence was rather pleased, than offended with such a supposition; and, with the address of a man, who secretly relies on his own genius, yet is willing to flatter his friends, he declares, in one of his Prologues, how extremely honourable, as well as gratifying, it must be considered to himself. Page 232.

> Nam quod isti dicunt malevoli, homines nobiles
> Eum adjutare, assiduèque unà scribere;
> Quod illi maledictum vehemens esse existumant,
> Eam laudem hic ducit maxumam, cùm illis placet,
> Qui vobis universis, et populo placent;
> Quorum opera in bello, in otio, in negotio,
> Suo quisque tempore usu' est sine superbiâ.
>
> Prolog. Adelph. 15.

The persons here characterized, who "bore their faculties so meekly" (as Mr Coleman admirably renders the expression), in the threefold manner alluded to by the poet, were Terence's three principal friends and patrons; Scipio Africanus, as eminent for his military merit, Furius Publius for his civil accomplishments, Caius Lælius for his unassuming wisdom, and all the three for their literary elegance. See Donat. Annotat. in hunc loc. & Sueton. in Vit. Terent. Horace likewise gives his testimony to the *Virtus Scipiadæ, et mitis sapientia Læli.* Sat. L. II. v. 72.

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(13.) For an account of these celebrated persons, the young student is referred to Vossius de Poët. Latin., Crusius's Lives of the Roman Poets, and Adam's Classical Biography. For the last mentioned work, which has lately come out, the public are indebted to that learned, and indefatigable scholar, Dr Adam of Edinburgh. It contains a correct account of the most remarkable persons, whose names occur in the writings of the Roman Classics. Besides com-

Page 232. prehensiveness and brevity, the qualities most requisite in such compilations, it possesses another property, which, as far as I know, is peculiar to itself, and to the other classical publications of the same author. Every fact and circumstance is most usefully verified by specific references to, and apt quotations from, the antient writers; and these are adapted not merely to verbal illustration, but to the more important objects of information and criticism.

In regard to the poets mentioned in the text, I shall stop only to observe, that of all the lost works of the Roman writers there are none more to be regretted, than those of Rabirius and Varro, the former as an epic poet, and the latter not only as a poet, but as a philosopher, a philologist, and a critic. Both authors flourished towards the close of the 7th century of the city. Rabirius, together with Varius (who more properly belongs to the Augustan, than to the Julian age), have been placed, by the best critics, in the next rank to Virgil. See Hor. Od. L. I. 6. De Art. Poet. 55.—Ov. Epist. ex Pont. L. IV. 16.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 36.—Sen. de Benef. VI.—Quintil. L. X. 1. As to Varro, he has been justly called the most learned among the Romans (*Doctissimus,—eruditissimus Romanorum.* Sen. Consol. ad Helv. VIII.—Quintil. L. X. 1.). His learning appears to have been universal, and his diligence equal to his learning; for, at the age of 84, he had written no fewer than 490 Books or treatises, on a vast variety of subjects (Noct. Att. L. III. 10.), most of which are enumerated by Cicero and Aulus Gellius. The fine eulogium, pronounced on him by Cicero, beginning *Nos in nostrâ urbe peregriniantes errantesque*, &c. and those by Quintilian and Pliny, are sufficient to render him immortal. See Cic. Academ. Quæst. L. I. 2. 3. Quintil. Inst. Orat. L. X. 1. p. 748. Edit. Hack.—Plin. Hist. Nat. L. XXXV. 2. also VII. 30. & XVI. 4.

There was also, about this time, another person of the name of Varro, to whom I equally allude in the text, and particularly for the department of epic poetry. This was Varro Atacinus, a writer of

considerable merit, who was born in the same year as Cicero, viz. A. U. C. 647, at Atax, a village of Gallia Narbonnensis, from which place he derived the surname of Atacinus. Though inferior in learning to the elder Varro, he greatly surpassed him as a poet; but his various works, except a few fragments, are unfortunately lost. Varro Atacinus translated into Latin the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, with great correctness and elegance. He wrote, likewise, another heroic poem, entitled *De Bello Sequanico*, besides many Elegies and Epigrams, of which the merit has been celebrated by his contemporaries. It appears, however, that he failed in attempting Satirical composition. See Hor. Sat. L. I. 10. v. 46.—Ov. Amor. L. I. 15. v. 21.—De Art. Amand. L. III. 335.—Propert. Eleg. L. II. 34.—Quintil. Inst. Orat. L. X. 1. From an anecdote, recorded by the elder Seneca, we find, that Virgil entertained a high opinion of Varro Atacinus, and frequently inserted his verses in his works (See Controvers. L. III. 16.), as, indeed, he seems pretty freely to have done, by other poets who went before him; but always with that felicity of genius, which turns to gold whatsoever it touches. The celebrated description of night, in the VIIIth book of the Æneid, beginning, Page 232.

> Nox erat, et terras animalia fessa per omnes,
> Alituum, pecudumque genus, sopor altus habebat,

was borrowed from Varro, whose description opened thus

> Desierant latrare canes, urbesque silebant:
> Omnia noctis erant, placidâ composta quiete.

There is another beautiful delineation of the same scene, in Æn. VIth, beginning,

> Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
> Corpora per terras, &c.

which was, in like manner, taken from both Varro and Apollonius

Page 232. Rhodius. See Argonaut. L. III. 743. Νὺξ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἄγεν κνέφας· οἱ δ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ, &c.

(14.) THIS remark is made by Cicero, in respect to both Rome and Athens, and particularly the latter, which, as he observes, may be accounted not only the birth-place of eloquence, but the soil, in which it was seen to thrive with the most surprising vigour. *Videsne, ut in eâ ipsâ urbe, in quâ et nata et alta sit eloquentia, quàm ea serò prodierit in lucem? .. Majore honore in omnibus artibus, quàm in hac unâ dicendi versatur antiquitas.* De Clar. Orator. X. XVIII. See also, on the same subject, and to nearly the same purpose, Id. VII. XII. XLIX. and De Orat. L. I. 2. 5. 3. &c.

(15.) AND higher, we have reason to think, they never rose, notwithstanding Cicero's partial encomiums. The *Omnes oratoriæ virtutes*, that, by his account, were to be found in the written compositions of the Censor; the *Gravitas Scipionis*, and the *Elegantia Lælii*, are excellencies, which we must understand, with some grains of allowance, from a critic, who, judicious and consummate as he was, entertained rather too great a predilection for the elder writers of his country, whether orators or poets. See De Clar. Orator. XVII. XXIII.—De Orat. L. III. 7. If the reader wish to see the merits of the principal orators of Rome, from Cato the Censor down to Cicero, and from Cicero down nearly to the age of the Antonines, appreciated with much discernment and impartiality, let him consult the admirable Dialogue *De Oratoribus*, or *De Causis corruptæ Eloquentiæ*, which has been variously ascribed to Tacitus and Quintilian, but most probably was composed by neither. In that beautiful tract, also, the general question of the supposed superiority of merit, in the elder over the later writers of a country, is examined with greater candour, ingenuity, and eloquence, than are perhaps to be found in any other critical composition. See likewise, Plin. Epist. L. I. 20.

(16.) For a full account of these eminent speakers, see the Dialogue above mentioned; also the beautiful treatise of Cicero *De Claris Oratoribus*, which has already been so often quoted. It may properly be considered, as he himself tells us, in the light of a IVth Book *De Oratore;* and, whether for variety of anecdote, or beauty of style, it must ever be read with new pleasure. The perusal of it is among the few things, of which it may be said, *Decies repetita placebit*, without a hyperbole. Page 235.

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(17.) *Nemo studet eloquentiæ nostrorum hominum, nisi ut in causis, atque in foro eluceat. Apud Græcos autem, eloquentissimi homines, remoti à causis forensibus, cùm ad ceteras res illustres, tum ad scribendam historiam maximè se applicaverunt.* De Orat. L. II. 13. As examples of this character among the Greeks, Cicero mentions the historians, Herodotus, Thucydides, Philistius, Theopompus, and Ephorus; as also, in an after period, Xenophon, Calisthenes, and Timæus. See further De Orat. L. III. 16., where the instance of Socrates, as well as those of Gorgias, Thrasymachus, and Isocrates are adduced, in order to illustrate his assertion as to various departments of learning.

(18.) Cic. de Legg. L. I. 1. De Orat. L. II. 12. Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus in Caria. Having fled from his native country, on account of a tyrant who oppressed it, he spent several years in travelling over Egypt, Greece and Italy. In order to procure for himself a lasting reputation, he recited, at the Olympic games (as stated in the text), his history not only of the wars of the Persians against the Greeks, from the age of Cyrus to the battle of Mycale, but also of the most illustrious nations then known in the world: And such was the extraordinary applause, with which his performance was received, that the names of the nine Muses were bestowed on the nine

Page 233. Books that compose it. See Lucian. in Herodot. T. I. p. 572. Edit. Græv. Herodotus also wrote a separate history of Assyria and Arabia, which is now lost. As to the life of Homer, generally attributed to him, it is not considered, by the best critics, as having proceeded from his pen. See Xyland. Annot. in Plutarch. de Vit. Hom.—Voss. de Histor. Græc. L. I. 3. The pretended malevolence towards the Greeks, of which Plutarch so industriously accuses him, has been often refuted. See particularly the Dissertations of the Abbe Geinoz, and of M. Freret, in the Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscrip. Tom. IX. &c.

In regard to the style of this venerable historian, perhaps it has never been better characterized, than shortly by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, when he observes, that some writers are able to inspire us with admiration without pleasure, and others with pleasure without admiration; but the style of Herodotus, he says, possesses the power of communicating both, as it is at once pleasing and beautiful. Ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἥρμοσταί τινα ἡδέως, καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καλῶς. ἡ δὲ Ἡροδότου σύνθεσις ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἔχει· καὶ γὰρ ἡδεῖά ἐστι καὶ καλή. Περὶ Συνθέσεως, X. fin.

It may not be improper here to remark, that Quintilian unites with the critic of Halicarnassus (Sect. V. XIX.), from whom he has taken many of his ideas, against Aristotle and Cicero (L. III. ad Theodect. & Orat. ad Brut. LII. LV.), in the opinion, that Herodotus, and the elder prose-writers, were not ignorant of the art of numbers or rythm in composition. Gorgias and Thrasymachus, according to Cicero, first invented and cultivated it; and if, in productions earlier than theirs, its effects were sometimes perceivable, it happened merely by felicity and accident: *Numero caruerunt, nisi quando temerè ac fortuitò.* The above is what Quintilian, in speaking of Herodotus, calls Διάλεκτος *latentes numeros complexa* (Inst. Orator. L. IX. 4.). In matters of criticism, however, it seems rather unsafe to distrust the acuteness of Aristotle, or the taste of Cicero.

(19.) CICERO adds Pherecydes and Acusilaus to the list of these early writers (De Orat. L. II. 12.); and Dionysius Halicarnassensis mentions many more: But they were all, as he says, merely Topical and Genealogical historians. See Περὶ τῆς δεινότητος τῦ Δημοσθένες, VII. & de Thucyd. Judic. XXIII. See also Voss. de Histor. Græc. L. I. 1. 2. Josephus (advers. Appion. L. I. 22.) has preserved some passages from Hecatæus, from which a judgment may be formed of the simplicity and jejuneness of their compositions. Hecatæus is likewise mentioned by Herodotus and Ælian (L. II. 143.—Var. Hist. L. XIII. 20.), and also by Diogenes Laërtius and Suidas. Concerning Hellanicus, See Aul. Gell. L. XV. 23.—Joseph. Antiq. Jud. L. I. 3. Page 234.

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(20.) THUCYDIDES was born at Athens, about 475 years A. C. He was both a scholar and a soldier, and a descendant of the great Miltiades. His noble emulation, when a boy, is well known, which prompted him to shed tears, on witnessing the honours bestowed, at the Olympic games, upon Herodotus. See Suid. voc. Thucydid. During the 8th year of the Peloponesian war, being sent, with a body of troops, to relieve Amphipolis, he failed in the attempt, through the quick march of Brasidas, the general of the Lacedæmonians; whereupon he was banished from Athens, by the faction of Cleon. See his own History, L. IV. p. 321. During his exile in Thrace, Thucydides composed an account of the twenty-one first years of this war (Plutarch. in Cim. De Exilio XIX.): That of the six remaining years was afterwards added, by Xenophon and Theopompus. Thucydides wrote in the Attic dialect, as being eminent, above all others, for vigour, purity, and elegance; hence compression and energy are the great characteristics of his style. This celebrated work is divided into 8 books, of which the last is imperfect, and supposed to have been written by the daughter of the historian.

Herodotus and Thucydides have been often compared; but by no writer more impartially than by Quintilian; who, in contrasting their

Page 234. merits, seems anxious to emulate the force and brevity, by which the latter is distinguished. Thucydides, he says, is close, concise, and never languid: Herodotus is sweet, copious, and always natural. The formers excels in delineating the fiercer passions, but the latter in expressing the gentler emotions of the heart. If the unrivalled energy of the one enables him, as an orator, to strike us with most admiration, the artless ease of the other peculiarly fits him for familiar intercourse, and gives us, on that account, most pleasure. *Densus, et brevis, et semper instans sibi Thucydides; dulcis, et candidus, et fusus Herodotus. Ille concitatis, hic remissis affectibus melior: Ille concionibus, hic sermonibus: Ille vi, hic voluptate.* Inst. Orator. L. X. 1. p. 743. Edit. Hack. This seems to be imitated from Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who, in his Epistle to Pompey on the laws of Historical Composition, says; Μετὰ ταύτην συνίσταται τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἠθῶν τε καὶ παθῶν μίμησις. διήρηνται τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην οἱ συγγραφεῖς. Θεκυδίδης μὲν γὰρ τὰ πάθη δηλῶσαι κρείττων. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ τά γ' ἤθη παραστῆσαι δεινότερος. . . ἔπονται ταύταις αἱ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸν τόνον καὶ τὰς ὁμοιοτρόπως δυνάμεις τῆς φράσεως ἀρεταὶ περιέχεσαι. κρείττων ἐν ταύταις Ἡροδότε Θεκυδίδης. ἡδονὴν δὲ καὶ πειθὼ καὶ τέρψιν καὶ τὰς ὁμοιογενεῖς ἀρετὰς εἰσφέρεται μακρῷ Θεκοδίδε κρείττονας Ἡρόδοτος. Op. Tom. VI. p. 776. Edit. Reiske. The same able critic has very accurately compared the two Greek historians, in his critique on the antient writers. See Tom. V. p. 424. And for the opinion of Cicero concerning Thucydides, See De Orator. L. II. 13. 22. De Clar. Orator. VII. LXXXIII. Orat. ad Brut. IX. Demosthenes, in order to acquire the peculiar energy of Thucydides's manner, is said to have transcribed his history no fewer than eight times, with his own hand. See Lucian. advers. indoct. Tom. II. p. 380. Edit. Græv.

(21.) Xenophon was also an Athenian, the scholar of Socrates, and celebrated as a general, an historian, and a philosopher. Having been induced to join Cyrus the younger, in the war against his brother Artaxerxes, king of Persia, he passed over to Asia, with a con-

siderable body of his countrymen. Cyrus was slain at the battle of Cunaxa, near Babylon; and Xenophon, together with the other generals, had the glory of conducting the Grecian troops through the country of the enemy, for upwards of 2000 miles (i. e. 1155 Parasangs); when, after surmounting incredible hardships, they arrived in safety, at the Euxine sea. This exploit, which was performed in 215 days, has been called the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, and is accounted one of the most memorable transactions in military history. Xenophon, like his precursor Thucydides, was driven into exile by the violence of Athenian jealousy. He retired to Scillus, a small town in Elis, in the neighbourhood of Olympia, where he composed most of his works (Anabas. V.—Diog. Laërt. L. II. 52.), and finally to Corinth, where he died at the age of 90, A. C. 359 years. For the above account, See chiefly Diog. Laërt. in Vit. Xenophont. Page 234.

His Historical works are, 1st. The Anabasis, or Expedition of Cyrus, otherwise the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, in which the historian himself bore so conspicuous a part. 2dly. The Cyropædia, in Eight Books; a work that has given rise to so much contrariety of criticism, some supposing it to be a faithful account of the transactions of Cyrus the Great; and others, like Plato and Cicero, considering it merely in the light of a moral romance: *Cyrus ille à Xenophonte non ad historiæ fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem justi imperii.* Cic. Epist. ad Quint. Frat. L. I. 1. VIII. 3dly. The Hellenica, being intended as a continuation of the history of Thucydides.

The style of Xenophon resembles, of all others, that of Cæsar; and its merit lies in its purity, elegance, and perfect simplicity. He has been emphatically denominated the Attic Bee, and the Attic Muse (Suid. Collectan.—Diog. Laërt. in Vit. Xenophont.). In fact, he displays such genuine, and unaffected beauty, as no arts of affectation can ever equal: And, as the graces themselves seem to have dictated his language, so the goddess of persuasion may be said to have dwelt upon his lips. *Quid ego commemorem Xenophontis jucunditatem illam inaf-*

Page 234. *fectatam, sed quam nulla possit affectatio consequi? ut ipsæ finxisse sermonem Gratiæ videantur; et in labris ejus sedisse quandam persuadendi deam.* Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. X. 1. p. 745. Edit. Hack. See likewise, nearly to the same effect, Cic. Orat. ad Brut. IX. XIX. Yet the style of Xenophon wants that force and elevation, which are requisite for history: Accordingly, the judicious critic, just now quoted, classes him rather among the illustrious philosophers, than among the historians of his country. *Xenophon* (says he, speaking of the latter) *non excidit mihi; sed inter philosophos reddendus est.* Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. X. 1. p. 743.

(22.) *Memoriæ publicæ retinendæ causâ, ab initio rerum Romanarum, usque ad Publium Mucium, pontificem maximum, res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex Maximus, efferebatque in album, et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi.* Cic. Orat. L. II. 12. These records, in the days of Cicero, and, indeed, long after, were named *Annales Maximi*, from the dignity, as it appears, of the magistrates who compiled them (Cic. ubi sup.—Aul. Gell. L. IV. 5.—Macrob. Saturnal. L. III. 3.). The Annals composed by the Pontifices, previous to the taking of Rome by the Gauls, and which Livy calls *Pontificum Commentarii* (L. VI. 1.), were destroyed with the city: But, from the time of Sylla, the practice of collecting annals seems to have been laid aside, and the labour devolved entirely on individuals.

(23.) Quintus Fabius Pictor (according to Livy, *Longè antiquissimus auctor*) flourished in the time of the Second Punic War (Liv. L. XXII. 7. Also, L. I. 44. II. 40. &c.—Eutrop. L. II.). After the unfortunate battle of Cannæ, A. U. C. 537, he was the person selected for the mission to Delphi, in order to consult the Oracle how the wrath of the Gods might be appeased. See Liv. L. XXII. 57. XXIII. 11.—Appian. Annibal. p. 569. Edit. Toll. The surname of Pictor was acquired, to a branch of this illustrious family, by the

grandfather of the historian, who excelled in painting, and left a monument of his skill in the art, by decorating the temple of Safety, on the Quirinal hill, A. U. C. 450; which painting in the days of Pliny still subsisted. See Hist. Nat. L. XXXV. 4. Also Cic. Tuscul. Disputat. L. I. 2. There were, as it appears, no fewer than four of the Fabian family, who bore the surname of Pictor; but most authors have confounded them with one another. Consult Vossius de Histor. Latin. L. I. 3. Page 234.

(24.) This was Cato the Elder, surnamed the Censor (from his having borne that office), great-grandfather to him, who perished at Utica, and one of the most eminent men, that Rome ever produced. So great is the admiration which posterity has entertained of him, that it has been found difficult to decide, whether he was most illustrious as an orator, a statesman, or a general: *Summas in homine res præstitisse existimatus est; optimus orator, optimus imperator, optimus senator.* Plin. Hist. Nat. L. VII. 27. See the noble and eloquent encomiums pronounced upon him by almost all the antient writers; Corn. Nep. in Vit.—Cic. de Clar. Orator. XVII. &c. De Senect. *passim.*—Liv. L. XXXIX. 40. 41.—Sen. Epist. LXXXVII.—Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. XII. 11. p. 914. Edit. Hack. His portrait by Livy is given at full length, and is, perhaps, the finest which has been painted by that historian. Cato's inveterate hostility to Carthage (Flor. L. II. 15.—Plutarch. in Caton. Maj.), and his opposition to the introduction of Greek literature into Rome (Plutarch. in Vit. Plin. Hist. Nat. L. VII. 30. XXIX. 1.), are well known features in his character.

Besides 150 Orations, and some Letters, which were extant in the time of Cicero, the Censor left behind him a celebrated historical work, called *Origines*, in Seven Books; of which the 1st. contained a history of the Roman monarchy; the 2d. and 3d. an account of the origin of the cities of Italy (which seems, in fact, to have given the

Page 235. name to the whole); the 4th. a detail of the First, the 5th. of the Second Punic War; and, in the others, the Roman History was brought down to the war of Lusitania. See Corn. Nep. in Vit. The only one of his works, that remains, is his treatise *De Re Rusticâ.* The fragments of the *Origines,* and also the Distichs, are considered as supposititious. See notices concerning his writings, in Corn. Nep. ubi sup.—Cic. de Orat. L. II. 33. De Offic. L. I. 29. De Clar. Orat. XV. XVI. XVII.—Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. III. 1. & 6.—Aul. Gell. L. I. 16. II. 6. VII. 4. 10. X. 26. IX. 12. &c. &c.—Plin. Hist. Nat. L. XIV. 4. 20. XXIX. 1.—Macrob. Saturnal. L. III. 4.—Plutarch. in Vit.

Lucius Calpurnius Piso was, likewise, a person of considerable note. He was surnamed *Frugi,* on account of his great integrity and temperance (Cic. pro Font. XIII. In Ver. III. 84.), and held the Consulship, A. U. C. 605. together with Posthumius Albinus. Pliny (Hist. Nat. L. II. 53.) calls him *gravis auctor;* and Aulus Gellius speaks of the sweetness and simplicity of his style (Noct. Att. L. XI. 14.): But the idea, given of him in the text, is taken from Cicero, who, although he respected him as a man, had no opinion of his powers, either as an orator, or an historian. *Ipse etiam Piso causas egit ... et orationes reliquit, quæ jam evanuerunt, et annales sanè exiliter scriptos.* De Clar. Orator. XXVII.

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(25.) *Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui, sine ullis ornamentis, monumenta solùm temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque, qualis apud Græcos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas fuit, aliique permulti, talis noster Cato, et Pictor, et Piso; qui neque tenent, quibus rebus ornatur oratio (modò enim huc ista sunt importata), et, dum intelligatur, quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse, brevitatem.* Cic. de Orat. L. II. 12.

(26.) *Paullulum se erexit, et addidit historiæ majorem sonum vocis vir optimus, Crassi familiaris, L. Coelius Antipater . . Scriptor fuit, ut temporibus illis, luculentus; juris valde peritus; multorum etiam, ut L. Crassi, magister.* Cic. de Orat. L. II. 12.—De Clar. Orator. XXVI. See, also, concerning him, Liv. L. XXXI. XXXII. XXXV. &c.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 9.—Val. Maxim. L. I. 7. vi.—Aul. Gell. L. X. 24.—Macrob. Saturnal. L. I. 4. Antipater is honourably mentioned, in various parts of Cicero's writings. In the list of orators he is particularly recorded; but he seems to have been much more celebrated as an historian. His Annals of the Punic War, which are now almost entirely lost, had the honour of being epitomized by Marcus Brutus (Cic. Epist. ad Att. L. XIII. 8.): And the emperor Hadrian, with the same singularity of taste, that led him to prefer Cato to Cicero, and Ennius to Virgil, thought Antipater, in his judgment, superior to Sallust. See Spartian. in Vit. Hadr. p. 158. Edit. Hack.—Let it, however, be observed, that there are no fewer than *six* persons of the name of Antipater, besides the historian, of whom Cicero makes mention. See Ernesti's admirable Clavis, in voc. Dr Adam, who is indefatigable, and whose accuracy is, in general, equal to his diligence, seems rather deficient in this article. See Classical Biography. Page 235.

(27.) *Ceteri non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodò narratores fuerunt . . Habuit vires agrestes ille quidem atque horridas, sine nitore ac palæstrâ; sed tamen admonere reliquos potuit, ut accuratiùs scriberent.* Cic. de Orat. L. II. 12.—De Legg. L. I. 2. The laudable efforts of Antipater seem not to have produced any immediate influence on historical composition; for both the Gellii, as well as Clodius and Asellio (four inferior writers who soon after appeared), were unable to tread in his footsteps; and they even relapsed into the unskilfulness and insipidity of his predecessors. *Ecce autem successere huic Gellii, Clodius, Asellio; nihil ad Coelium, sed potiùs ad an-*

Page 236. *tiquorum languorem atque inscitiam.* Cic. de Legg. L. I. 2. For an account of Cnæus and Sextus Gellius, as also of Clodius and Asellio, See Vossius (de Histor. Latin. L. I. 8.), and the different Grammarians.

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(28.) CICERO was more partial to the productions of Sisenna, than seems to have been warranted by the merit of that writer, who composed the history of the civil wars between Sylla and Marius (See Vell. Paterc. L. II. 9. Sall. Bel. Jugurthin. XCV.). As an accurate compilation, it had some merit; but it deserved the character, which is bestowed on Sisenna in the text; and clearly showed, that there existed not, as yet, any good specimen of historical writing in the Latin tongue. *Is (Sisenna) tamen neque orator in numero vestro unquam est habitus, et in historiâ puerile quiddam consectatur; ut unum Clitarchum, neque quemquam præterea, de Græcis legisse videatur. Eum velle duntaxat imitari . . indicat tamen quantùm absit à summo; quamque genus hoc scriptionis nondum sit Latinis literis illustratum.* Cic. de Legg. L. I. 2. De Clar. Orator. LXIV.

(29.) QUINTUS LUTATIUS CATULUS held the Consulship, together with Marius, A. U. C. 651. And although he was at once a poet, and an historian, he seems to have shone most conspicuously in the former character. Catulus, says a first-rate judge of every sort of merit, was a man of real learning; not of the old school at Rome, but in an acceptation of the term far more liberal and enlarged, and belonging to a better age. His acquirements were most extensive. His manners, like his disposition, were upright, mild, and affable; and his style, which reflected these admirable qualities, was eminent for courtly ease, and pure Latinity. *Q. Catulus, non antiquo illo more, sed hoc nostro (nisi quid potest fieri perfectiùs) eruditus. Multæ literæ; summa non vitæ solùm, atque naturæ, sed orationis etiam comitas, in-*

corrupta quædam Latini sermonis integritas. Cic. de Clar. Orator. XXXV. See, also, nearly to the same purpose, De Orat. L. III. 8. De Offic. L. I. 30. 37. In the war against the Cimbri, he shared with Marius in the glory of subduing that formidable people (Cic. Tuscul. Disput. L. V. 19.—Liv. Epitom. L. LXVII. LXVIII.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 12.—Plutarch. in Mar.). Although closely united in friendship with the latter, and, as Cicero observes, like another Lælius, yet they quarrelled at last; and Catulus, during the troubles, having sided with Sylla, was forced to put himself to death, by the stern mandate of his former friend and colleague. *Necessariis Catuli deprecantibus, non semel respondit, sed sæpe, Moriatur!* Tuscul. Disput. ubi sup. See, also, Cic. de Orat. L. III. 3.—Val. Maxim. L. IX. 12. iv.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 22.—Flor. L. III. 21.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. I. p. 663. Edit. Toll.—Plutarch. in Mar. p. 431. Edit. Francof. Page 236.

As a poet, the talent of Catulus lay in Epigram (Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. I. 28.—Plin. Epist. L. V. 3.—Aul. Gell. L. XIX. 9.). He left behind him, besides several Orations, a history of his own wars and Consulship, of which a few fragments only remain. In this favourite composition, his aim was to avoid the harshness of Antipater, and attain the peculiar sweetness, and gentle flow of Xenophon (*Librum de Consulatu, et rebus gestis suis, conscriptum molli, et Xenophonteo genere sermonis.* De Clar. Orator. XXXV.). But between simplicity and flatness how narrow is the boundary! What, in a superior language, the genius of Xenophon could scarcely effect, we cannot attribute to the skill of Catulus.

(30.) THIS was Quintus Hortensius, the celebrated orator. He was the intimate friend, and rival of Cicero, though somewhat older; and held the Consulship, A. U. C. 684, together with Cæcilius Metellus. Hortensius was remarkable for his great wealth and luxury, as well as for his eloquence (Var. de Re Rust. C. VI. et ult.—Plin. Hist. Nat. L. IX. 55. His magnificent fish-ponds, and the favourite Lamprey, whose

Page 236. death he so sincerely bewailed, are well-known anecdotes of the luxurious orator (Plin. Hist. Nat. ubi sup.—Macrob. Saturnal. L. II. 11.): And when, for the purpose of procreating children, he requested the possession of Marcia, his friend Cato's wife, Cato yielded her up to him, and afterwards re-married her, at his death. See Plutarch. in Caton. Minor.—Lucan. Pharsal. L. II. 326. 432. &c.

The compositions of Hortensius, which are now lost, seem to have consisted of Orations, licentious Poems, and some books of Annals. Cic. Epist. ad Attic. L. XII. 5.—Ov. Trist. L. II. 441.—Aul. Gell. L. XIX. 9.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 16. Quintilian is of opinion, that the oratorical works of Hortensius are undeserving of the high encomiums of Cicero: But Cicero's vanity, if not his candour, might prompt him to extol, with more than common warmth, the productions of a speaker, whom he himself had had the glory of surpassing. See De Clar. Orator. I. II. LXXXVIII. &c.

Titus Pomponius Atticus was a Roman knight of distinguished learning, who acquired the surname of Atticus, from his long residence at Athens, and his intimate acquaintance with the Greek language. See Corn. Nep. in Vit.—Cic. de Fin. Bonor. L. V. 2. He was the confidential friend of Cicero; who, by the Sixteen Books of Epistles which he has addressed to him, has immortalized his memory. Attached, from his youth, to literary pursuits, Atticus had the prudence to decline the paths of ambition; and, what was a memorable circumstance, in steering his way through the dangers of a most eventful period, he was equally beloved, and esteemed by all parties. His numerous writings, which are now lost, appear to have been partly poetical, partly biographical, and partly historical; in the last of which departments he is said to have comprehended a period of no less than 700 years. Corn. Nep. in Vit.—Cic. Epist. ad Attic. L. II. 1. XII. 33.—Orat. ad Brut. XXXIV.—De Clar. Orator. III. XLV. De Fin. Bonor. L. II. 21.—Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXV. 2.

The intimacy was remarkable, says an elegant biographer, which

subsisted between this illustrious person and Hortensius, who, at that time, was accounted the foremost orator at the bar. In fact, whether Hortensius or Cicero loved Atticus the most it is impossible to decide: But what was very extraordinary, and not less honourable to both, was, that open rivals as they appeared in the career of eloquence, their mutual esteem suffered no abatement, from the jarrings of competition, or the whispers of envy; while the virtues of Atticus were still the bond, that cemented the attachment of so illustrious a triumvirate. *Utebatur autem (Atticus) intimè Q. Hortensio, qui, iis temporibus, principatum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non posset, uter eum plus diligeret Cicero, an Hortensius: Et id, quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat, ut inter quos tantæ laudis esset æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio, essetque talium virorum copula.* Corn. Nep. in Vit. Att. Page 236.

For some account of Varro See Note 13. anteh.

(31.) WHATSOEVER transient approbation we find Cicero bestowing on the historical labours of his three friends, and even on those of Brutus, to whom he was extremely partial, yet it is certain, that, in a calm enquiry into the state of the historical art, he declares, that the Latin language, in this period, possessed not so much as one tolerable specimen. Of those of his countrymen, he observes, who had attempted it, some might have shown a greater, and others a less degree of merit: But they were, one and all of them, he says, destitute of real energy or interest, and unworthy to be compared with the Greek historians. In confirmation of this sentiment, expressed in the text, we perceive, that, in the above mentioned enquiry (which is carried on in the form of the Socratic dialogue), he makes Atticus the person to press the task of furnishing a specimen upon himself; and in such terms, as to leave no doubt of his own opinion on the subject. *Abest historia nostris literis* (says Atticus), *ut et ipse intelligo, et ex te persæpe audio . . Sume ad hanc rem tempus, quæ est à nostris hominibus ad-*

Page 236. *huc aut ignorata, aut relicta . . Quamquam ex his alius alio plus habet virium, tamen quid tam exile, quàm isti omnes!* De Legg. L. I. 2.

(32.) FROM the treatise just now mentioned, as well as from other circumstances, Cicero appears to have been often urged, by his friends, to free Rome from the imputation of having produced no accomplished historian; and there is every reason to believe, that he was in nowise disinclined to compose a General History of the commonwealth. *Postulatur à te jamdiu, vel flagitatur potiùs historia: Sic enim putant, te illam tractante, effici posse, ut, in hoc etiam genere, Græciæ nihil cedamus.* De Legg. ubi sup. The fact was, in the political circumstances of this period, Rome must, at all events, have had a master; and if the ascendency of the first Cæsar fortunately had continued but half as long as that of Augustus, and the philosophical retirement, into which the great orator was driven (and which certainly gave birth to his most valuable compositions), had been prolonged to a later period, we should, in all likelihood, have possessed a noble specimen of historical writing, from his pen. But, unhappily both for himself, and for posterity, his political ambition was always able to prevail over his thirst of literary fame.

The attempts of Cicero in the historical department were partial, and few in number. 1st. A Greek Commentary, or Memoirs of his own Consulship, which he sent to Posidonius of Rhodes, in order to be exhibited in Greece (Epist. ad Attic. L. I. 19. II. 1.): 2dly. An Historical Poem, in three books, on the same subject, but brought down to a later period of time (Epist. ad Fam. L. I. 9.—Ad Quint. Frat. L. II. 9.—Epist. ad Attic. L. II. 3.—De Divin. L. I. 11. 12.): And, 3dly, His Anecdotes (Ἀνέκδοτα) of his own times, written in the satirical manner of Theopompus, but, as he freely acknowledges, with a far greater than Theopompus's severity *(Theopompino more, aut etiam asperiore multò.* Epist. ad Attic. L. II. 6.). The loss, however, even of these pieces, is a subject of regret, and of the Anecdotes

in particular, in which much curious matter must have been comprised. Cicero himself seems to have been aware of the danger and delicacy of the undertaking; and on that account it was, that he delivered the book, sealed up, to his son, with strict injunctions not to publish, nor even to read it, till after his death. Page 237. 239. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθεὶς, μὴ καὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ ἐκφοιτήσῃ, κατεσημήνατό τε αὐτὸ καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ παιδὶ, προστάξας οἱ μήτ' ἀναγνῶναι μήτε δημοσιεῦσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα, πρὶν ἂν μεταλλάξῃ. Dion. Cass. L. XXXIX. 10. Edit. Reimar. Some passages from the Anecdotes are quoted by Asconius, in his Scholia on the Toga Candida; and also by Boëthius, de Mus. L. I. 1.

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(33.) ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ ἔντευξις τῶν ἠθῶν. τοῦτο καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἔοικε λέγειν, περὶ ἱστορίας λέγων· ὅτι καὶ ἱστορία φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ἐκ παραδειγμάτων. Περὶ λογων ἐξετάσεως. II. p. 398. Edit. Reiske.

(34.) *Ceteri non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodò narratores fuerunt.* De Orat. L. II. 12. Hence we perceive, that an *exornator rerum* was the highest idea, which Cicero had formed, of the historic character.

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(35.) The desire of exalting Tacitus, at the expence of Sallust and Livy, is not originally an English taste. Justus Lipsius, in the end of the sixteenth century, first brought him into fashion. In France, the ingenious Montesquieu, together with a multitude of other writers, successfully copied his manner; and our own Gibbon, who, with all his merit, certainly caught the style, while he composed the history, of a Declining Empire, has gone so far as to assert, that Tacitus was "the first of historians, who applied the science of philosophy to the study of facts." See Rom. Emp. V. I. p. 344. 8vo. Edit. It is seldom that Mr Gibbon, who was an accurate scholar, in such direct

Page 239. terms mistates a fact. A learned critic, whose classical prejudices, though of a different sort, were stronger, and more whimsical than those of the historian of the Roman empire, has referred philosophic history to its true author. "As to Characters and Reflections," says he, "Thucydides does not deal in them; for that was something new, "in respect to the matter, which Sallust appears first to have intro- "duced into history. Before his time, this species of writing confi- "ned itself to the narrating of facts, leaving the reader to form his "own reflections upon them, as well as to judge from them of the "characters of men . . In his Reflections, or what may be called the "Philosophy of his History, the style is of the same kind as in his "narrative." Origin and Prog. of Language, Vol. III. pp. 201. 203.

What seems to me the most extraordinary of all is, that Mr Murphy, in the elegant Essay, which he has composed, on the "Life and Genius of Tacitus," instead of tracing his manner, like the judicious critic just now mentioned, to his model Sallust, has never, I believe, but *twice*, and then only incidentally, made mention of the latter (See pp. 29. 30.): Yet, it is from so able, and discriminating a scholar as Mr Murphy, that we should have expected to see the imitation pointed out, and the merits of both writers fairly appreciated.

"Tacitus himself," says Lord Monboddo, "was no original, though "the contrary is sometimes believed; for he plainly imitates the au- "thor last mentioned, Sallust. This is evident, not only from parti- "cular obsolete words and phrases, which he has borrowed from Sal- "lust, as has been observed by the commentators, but from the ge- "neral colour, and complexion of his style. And, indeed, there was, "at that time, no other historian, either Greek or Latin, who had "written in that style; for, as I observed before, the composition of "Thucydides, though affecting the same character of style, is very "different from that of Sallust, or his imitator Tacitus. I will give "two or three examples of this. Every body, who has studied Sal- "lust, knows, that the style, in which he describes characters, is re-

" markable. Here is one from Tacitus, which is plainly an imitation Page 239.
" of that manner. It is the character of Sejanus: *Corpus illi labo-*
" *rum tollerans; animus audax, sui obtegens, in alios criminator;*
" *juxtà adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor; intus summa*
" *adpiscendi lubido.* Annal. L. IV. 1. The character of Galba is gi-
" ven, in the same manner, by antithesis: *Pecuniæ alienæ non appe-*
" *tens, suæ parcus, publicæ avarus.* Hist. L. I. 49. His descriptions,
" too, are often in the style of Sallust, that is, in single unconnected
" words, as in the description of the rout of an army; *Non arma, non*
" *ordo, non consilium; sed, pecorum modo, trahi, occidi, capi.* Annal.
" L. VI. 25. In the same manner, Sallust describes the same thing:
" *Sequi fugere, occidi, capi, equi, viri adflicti.*" Orig. and Prog. of Language, Vol. III. pp. 211. 212. These are judicious observations, and well worthy of attention. It is almost unnecessary to add, that the characters of Sejanus and Galba, above quoted by Lord Monboddo, are both taken from Sallust's celebrated portait of Catiline, to which the resemblance is too strongly marked, to leave us for a moment in doubt of the original, that Tacitus had in view, when he delineated the pictures.

Much as I respect the discernment and taste of Mr Murphy, it is impossible to pass over, in silence, the seeming want of candour, which he has manifested on this subject. In the whole course of the admirable Notes, with which he has enriched his Tacitus, I have found it but twice, or three times alluded to, and that not in places, where the imitation is more striking, than in innumerable other passages. In one of the instances, speaking of the good effect, that the want of copulatives sometimes produces on composition, he observes, that " Sal-
" lust, in describing the rout of Catiline's army, says they fled, they
" were followed, they were killed, they were taken; *Sequi, fugere,*
" *occidi, capi.* Tacitus (he adds) saw the hurry, the force, the rapi-
" dity, of the disjointed words in Sallust, and thought the passage
" *worthy of imitation.*" Tacit. Vol. IV. pp. 414. 415. Now, omit-

Page 239. ting altogether the circumstance that there are no such words to be found in the description of Catiline's army, it is curious to observe, according to Mr Murphy, that Tacitus *did* actually discover *one* passage in Sallust "worthy of his imitation:" Yet, it seems, it is the *only* one (by implication at least), which, in the judgment of his eloquent translator, he considered as deserving of so distinguished an honour! The quotation, to which Mr Murphy alludes, is not in Catiline's Conspiracy, but is taken from the Jugurthine War (Sect. CVIII.); and it is no doubt sufficiently characteristic of the rout and consternation which took place, on the victory of Marius and Sylla, over Jugurtha and his Numidians.

A very ingenious, and learned scholar, Dr John Hill, Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, in his Essay on Historical Composition, and the application of its Principles to the Works of Tacitus, has gone much further than Mr Murphy. Not content with insinuation and implication, he has advanced to direct assertion, and thus expresses himself on the subject. "From the abruptness of the "style of Tacitus, some critics of respectable authority have asserted, "that he had made Sallust his pattern. With all deference for their "opinion in other cases, we must in this differ from them. If the "*originality* of the genius of Tacitus has permitted him to copy any "writer, it is Thucydides. In the use of certain words, and forms of "construction, he may have copied Sallust; but few historians are "more nearly *opposite* in their manner. In the style of Sallust there "is a studied elegance, at which his supposed imitator never aimed; "and in the sentiment of Tacitus there is a depth, which Sallust could "never rival." See this Essay, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. I. pp. 191. 192.

Admitting the justice of the last part of this proposition, in respect to "depth of sentiment," in as great a degree as might even be required by the ingenious author himself, I would here observe, that "abruptness of style" forms but a small part of the resemblance, that

subsists between the two historians. It seems to me, indeed, "passing strange," how any man should peruse the writings of both, with any degree of attention, and not admit, that the one had most *obviously* assumed the other as "his pattern;" or how it should be imagined, that "few historians are more nearly *opposite* in their manner." It would be a waste of time here to adduce the many instances, wherein Tacitus has closely copied Sallust, not in the "words and forms of construction" only, but in the thoughts themselves. I refer Dr Hill to the well known collections of these, that have been made by the critics, and particularly by Lipsius, in his Commentary on his favourite historian; and also to several prominent examples, which are noticed in the course of my own Notes on the Catilinarian and Jugurthine Wars. Page 239.

That Sallust imitated Thucydides is clear from the testimony of the antients, of the elder Seneca, of Velleius Paterculus, and of Quintilian; and the fact may be further proved, by tracing his ideas and expressions, not only to the works, that remain, of the Greek historian, but even to those of Demosthenes, who is so well known to have copied the latter. It is very probable, that Tacitus might also have an eye to the example of Thucydides, as the manner of both is concise and energetic; but his similarity to Sallust is infinitely more striking, both from his borrowing the same thoughts, and his making use of the very *words*, in which Sallust had clothed them. Either Tacitus did, or he did not, draw after his precursor Sallust. If it be admitted that he did, there is an end of the controversy. If it be said that he did not, I would ask any man of reflection, whether in the nature of contingency it be probable, that one author shall produce an entire history, full of *thoughts*, *words*, and *expressions* to be found in a preceding history; with the *general colour of the style* so strikingly similar, as that, when we read the one, we should often be inclined to mistake it for the other; in such a case, I should ask, whether it can, with any show of reason, be contended, that the one historian did not

Page 239. *imitate* the other? or whether such a wonderful coincidence could have been produced, if the former had had no knowledge of the productions of the latter writer? As well might it be asserted, that Virgil did not draw after Homer, Pope after Dryden, or Gesner after Theocritus; for, excepting the positive acknowlegement of an author himself, there is no species of evidence, that is more completely conclusive.

As to the "studied elegance," which is supposed, by Dr Hill, to characterize the style of Sallust, and "at which Tacitus never aimed," I must be permitted to say, with every deference to the opinion of so distinguished a scholar, that, although the elegance of Sallust, as of every author, must, more or less, be the effect of study, yet in *his* compositions it seems easy and graceful; whereas the elegance of Tacitus (a quality in which that writer is certainly not deficient) is, indeed, "studied" and elaborate: It pleases, not by its unaffectedness, but by its quaintness and ingenuity; and it would please greatly more, were it not so often disfigured by the smart turns, the pointed sentences, and the enigmatical obscurity of the schools of Declamation. He who compares, with but moderate attention, the page of Tacitus with the curious specimens of their exercises, as they are preserved by the elder Seneca, will scarcely doubt but that this historian, powerful and eloquent as he is, formed his style on the vicious model of those schools. There is no critic, who has more plainly demonstrated the fact, than Lord Monboddo, in his admirable work, the Origin and Progress of Language, where he examines the character of the principal antient historians. That his strictures are severe I am ready to admit: But of their justice a pretty strong presumptive evidence is found in this, that neither Mr Murphy, nor Dr Hill, nor any other ardent panegyrist of Tacitus, has, as far as I know, attempted to *reply to them.*

I will not pay so bad a compliment to the erudition of Dr Hill and Mr Murphy, as to suppose them ignorant, that the opinion here main-

tained, concerning Sallust and Tacitus, is the same that almost uni- Page 239.
versally has prevailed among the learned, ever since the revival of letters in Europe. It is not the influence of a few modern names, however respectable, that is able to give currency to a contrary assertion, unsupported as it is by argument, and contradicted by facts. The admirers, and, what is worse, the imitators of the manner of Tacitus, have, I am sorry to say, been too numerous. With such men as Montesquieu and Gibbon at their head, they have, on the subject of their favourite, been sufficiently partial in their encomiums. Not satisfied with assigning to him his due share of praise (which, beyond question, is very great), they have wished to hold him forth as an *original* writer; as too proud for imitation, and too immaculate for errour; and thus, in fact, they have roused the suspiciousness of criticism to a closer survey, than might otherwise have been taken, of his real faults. It is only since the existence of this extravagant fashion, that Tacitus has been suspected to be original, or the father of Philosophic History among the antients. But that is a fancy, of which, it is to be hoped, we shall hear no more, particularly in Britain, since his influence on our style has fortunately decreased, and since we have begun to draw from purer models.

In opposition to the absurd assertion, made by Mr Gibbon, that Tacitus is original in respect to his application of Philosophy to History, I shall content myself with stating the very different, but candid sentiment of only one scholar, but he is among the most illustrious that Europe ever produced, namely, Justus Lipsius. His partiality to Tacitus is notorious; and such an evidence may be safely admitted, by his warmest admirers. In the Dedication of Lipsius's noble edition of this historian to the Emperor Maximilian II., after enumerating the objects essential to the character of legitimate history, among which the ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν are not forgotten; and, on considering the writings of Cæsar, Livy, and Sallust in that view, he frankly admits, that Sallust alone has been truly able to unite the whole of them; next

Page 239. to whom, he says, his *imitator Tacitus* deserves to be ranked, as the writer of all others, who approaches the nearest to the fine genius of antiquity: And, had not the Roman language and taste, adds he, been in his time corrupted, he might well have been entitled, from the excellence of his matter, to contend with the authors of those celebrated periods. *Sallustius unus ex III viris illis est, qui feliciter consecutus videtur hæc omnia; et quem, si mei arbitrii res sit, in hoc lustro principem senatûs historici legere non dubitem; nam ceteri, deinceps, minorum quasi gentium historici, quantùm à superiorum ætate, tantùm et à laude affuerunt; nisi quod admirabile est, quantùm inter istos unus excellat,* imitator Sallustii Cornelius Tacitus, *omni virtute antiquis proximus, longo quidem intervallo, sed tamen proximus; et, si linguæ Latinæ esset eadem puritas, cetera sic perfectus, ut vocare illos ipsos antiquos in certamen possit dignitatis.* Lip. Dedicat. pp. 1. 2. Edit. Antwerp. Fol. On another occasion, the same great critic declares our author to be the foremost in rank among historians, and regrets that, from the loss of so great a part of his writings, what remains cannot also be accounted the foremost in magnitude. *C. Sallustius,* omnino primus, *si libros ejus modò haberemus.* Not. ad Politic. L. I. 9.

(36.) In a history of the Civil Wars, composed by Cremutius Cordus, a virtuous and spirited writer in the reign of Tiberius, after highly extolling Marcus Brutus, one of the chief conspirators against Julius Cæsar, the author had gone the length of calling Cassius, after the example of Brutus himself, *Romanorum ultimum* (Plutarch. in Brut. p. 1005.). This expression, it seems, gave alarm to the jealous tyrant, and, in consequence, cost the historian his life. On being prosecuted for it, by one of the creatures of Sejanus, the book was condemned to be burnt by the Ædiles; and, although privately preserved, and, of course, much read at Rome, it has not come down to the present times. See Tacit. Annal. L. IV. 34. Also Sueton. in Tiber.

LXI.—Dion. Cass. L. LVII. 24. Edit. Reimar. Some fragments of Cordus's history are still to be found in the works of the elder Seneca. See Suasor. VII. Seneca, the Philosopher, has addressed to Marcia, the daughter of Cordus, his treatise *De Consolatione*, wherein he speaks of her father in the highest terms, as a person, whose memory will live, as long as the Romans shall desire to know the history of their affairs, or the manners of their ancestors; as long as posterity shall respect the man, who, notwithstanding the universal tyranny exercised by Sejanus, could yet manifest the boldness of a manly spirit; whose genius was unfettered, whose independence was unconquered, and whose style breathed the freedom, and the energy of his genius. *Cujus viget, vigebitque memoria, quamdiu fuerit in pretio Romana cognosci; quamdiu quisquam erit, qui reverti velit ad acta majorum; quamdiu quisquam, qui velit scire quid sit vir Romanus; quid, subactis, jam cervicibus, omnium, et ad Sejanianum jugum adactis, indomitus sit homo, ingenio, animo, manu liber.* De Consolat. ad Marc. L. Page 240.

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(37.) The poet Martial, who survived Tacitus, and, as he lived down to the end of Trajan's reign, probably composed many of his Epigrams, after both the History and the Annals were published, expresses the decided opinion of the Roman critics, in regard to the precedency of Sallust, among the historians of his country;

> Hic erit, ut perhibent doctorum corda virorum,
> Primus Romanâ Crispus in historiâ,
>
> L. XIV. 191.

In respect to the modern critics, who are of opinion, that the 13th. and 14th. Books of Martial, named *Xenia* & *Apophorata*, are not the genuine productions of that poet, but the work of some later hand, they confirm, instead of refuting, the sentiment expressed in the text; because they prove the assertion concerning Sallust to have been made

Page 242. at a period, when the works of Tacitus were still more fully known and appreciated, than even in the days of Martial. Velleius Paterculus, the elder Seneca, Quintilian, and Tacitus himself, all bear testimony to Sallust's merit, in terms no less honourable. See Vell. Paterc. L. II. 36.—Sen. Controvers. L. IV. 24. Epit. Declam. L. IX. 1.—Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. II. 5. p. 126.—Tacit. Hist. L. III. 30.

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(38.) *Crediderim hisce temporibus, scriptam fuisse historiam Catilinariæ Conjurationis; cùm Salustius, exacto Tribunatûs tempore, privatus ageret, nec Ciceroni esset infensus; rem enim ita narrat, ut, eâ lectâ historiâ, nemo non acta Ciceronis sit probaturus. Fortè et bellum Jugurthinum, et Civilia, quæ id insecuta sunt, aliaque cum iis connexa, eodem illo tempore conscripsit, aut aliquantò posteriùs.* Cleric. Vit. Sallust.

(39.) See Bel. Catilin. Sect. XXIV. & XLIV. and Notes.

(40.) Bel. Catilin. XLIV.

(41.) Cicero was put to death, A. U. C. 710, by order of Mark Antony, and by the hand of Popilius Lænas, a military Tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended, and saved in a capital cause. His head was fixed upon the Rostra, as a spectacle to the people. See Vel. Paterc. L. II. 66.—Liv. Fragment. ap. Sen. Suasor. VII.—Appian. de Bel. Civ. L. IV. pp. 967. 968. Edit. Toll.—Dion. Cass. L. XLVII. 8. Edit. Reimar.—Flor. L. IV. 6. &c.

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(42.) *Mihi à spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, animus liber est.*—Sallust. Bel. Catilin. IV.

(43.) *Certe non sunt ea scripta hominis adolescentis.* Cleric. Vit. Sallust. Page 245. —247.

(44.) Le Clerc, with his usual inaccuracy, although he places Sallust's birth in the year of Rome 669, makes the historian no less than forty-one in 702, when he held the office of Tribune: *Id vix ante Tribunatum, quem anno ætatis XLI gessit, fieri potuit.*

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(45.) Bel. Catilin. IV.

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(46.) Bel. Jugurthin. IV.

(47.) I am not ignorant, that a respectable critic (M. de Brosses) explains this allusion by applying it to another period, when Sallust, he says, obtained the Tribuneship of the People, A. U. C. 702., by the only arts which could then obtain it, viz. bribery and corruption; whereas, about the same time, Cato was soliciting public honours, with the immaculate integrity of a Fabricius, and yet was refused them. *Il obtint la place de Tribun du Peuple pour l'année suivante; en ceci plus heureux que Caton, qui, à peu près dans le même temps, sollicita plusieurs dignités, sans les obtenir; n'y ayant employé que des moïens excellens au siecle de Fabricius, et peu faits pour le sien.* Œuv. de Sall. Tom. III. p. 327. It is possible that the historian might have had an eye to both eras, when he wrote the passage: But that mentioned in the text was, certainly, of all others the period, in which he most conspicuously outstripped his rivals, under the patronage of Cæsar.

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(48.) *Sed*, meâ memoriâ, *ingenti virtute, diversis moribus*, fuere *viri*

Page 247. *duo, M. Cato, et C. Cæsar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire non fuit consilium, quia utriusque naturam et mores, quantùm ingenio possem, aperirem.* Bel. Catilin. LVII. This passage is at once decisive of the controversy with Le Clerc. It entirely coincides with what has been already offered, in ascertaining the date of the Conspiracy of Catiline, and in fixing it to a time greatly posterior to Sallust's Tribuneship, and somewhat later than the death of Cæsar; which last event, we are certain, took place in the year of Rome 709. Had the President de Brosses sufficiently weighed the various circumstances, which are stated in the text, it is probable he would on this, as on other occasions, have disregarded the dogmatism, and escaped from the trammels of Le Clerc. Being resolved, in regard to the Conspiracy of Catiline, to follow the opinion of that critic, he is reduced to the necessity of *supposing* that the parallel between Cato and Cæsar must have been composed at some period subsequent to the rest of the piece, and inserted, as an episode, in an improved edition! *Peutêtre Salluste y ajouta-t-il depuis cet excellent morceau, qui forme une espece de degression a son récit.* Tom. III. p. 356. On the weight of *suppositions*, when opposed to *facts*, it is needless to enlarge. If the supposition of the worthy President's is not very probable, it is at least ingenious; and it gives me pleasure to think that it is almost the only point, in which I am forced to dissent from this liberal, and candid scholar.

It seems remarkable, when M. de Brosses had the courage to stand single, in differing from his master, in the chronology of the composition of the Jugurthine War, that he should have regarded his opinion in respect to that of Catiline's Conspiracy. He appears, however, to have had other reasons, besides the mere authority of Le Clerc. It is probable, he says, that Sallust wrote the Conspiracy of Catiline in the year 703, because, in his account of the debaucheries of that conspirator, he relates (Bel. Catilin. XV.) that Catiline had an intrigue with a Vestal virgin, who, from other authors (Cic. in Tog.

Cand.—Acon. Pedian. in ejusd. Schol.—Plutarch. Caton. Minor. p. 394. Edit. Reiske), we find, was Fabia Terentia, the sister of Cicero's wife. It is, therefore, scarcely credible, according to M. de Brosses, that Sallust, *after* marrying Terentia, should not have taken care to suppress so disgraceful an anecdote concerning his sister in-law. (See Œuv. de Sall. T. III. pp. 34. 35.); and consequently we are to conclude, that the composition of his history must have taken place antecedently to the marriage. To this it may be answered, and I think very satisfactorily; 1st. That the regard to truth, for which Sallust is remarkable, absolutely required, in a view of Catiline's debaucheries, that this attempt, the most public of them all, should not be omitted. We, indeed, see that he speaks of it in a manner extremely cursory, and discreetly conceals the name of the Vestal; whereas it is presumable, had not Terentia been divorced from Cicero at the time, he would have seized the opportunity, by naming the sister, to mortify her family. 2dly. The story, when Sallust wrote, A. U. C. 709, or 710, must have been pretty much forgotten, as the great noise, made at first by it at Rome, was in 680, no less than thirty years before. And, 3dly. He might think there was the less harm in stating Catiline's guilt in attempting the crime, that it was notorious that Fabia, on being brought to trial for it by Clodius, was acquitted by the court. See Plutarch. in Caton. Minor. p. 394. Cicero, as it appears, had the same feelings on the subject; for he did not scruple, while Terentia was his wife, publicly to allude to the circumstance in the Senate, proceeding on the well-known ground of his sister-in-law's acquittal. *Ita vixisti* (says he, addressing himself to Catiline), *ut non esset locus tam sanctus, quo non adventus tuus, etiam cùm culpa nulla subesset, crimen adferret.* Orat. in Tog. Cand. See also the Notes of Asconius Pedianus on the passage. Page 248.

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(49.) On the account, which he gives of the natives of Africa, considerable reliance, he says, may be placed, as his information was

Page 248. derived from the celebrated Carthaginian records, that belonged to King Hiempsal; a work, which the historian himself had carefully examined, and of which he had caused a part to be translated, for his own use. *Ex Libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est.* Bel. Jugurthin. XX. From hence it is evident, that Sallust was in Africa, *before* he wrote his history of the Jugurthine War.

I know very well, that there is a passage in Dion Cassius, in which that writer might be thought to intimate, that some part, at least, of the works of Sallust was composed, previously to his being appointed to his African government. Possibly Le Clerc, although he makes no mention of it, may have been influenced in his opinion by this circumstance; as he rashly asserts, that such was the case with both the Jugurthine War, and the Conspiracy of Catiline. In speaking of Sallust's well-known peculation and extortion, in the province of Africa, Dion Cassius observes, that the odium they drew down upon him was the greater, that the depravity of his conduct so ill accorded with the purity of his writings, in which he had severely reprehended the very same errours in other men. *Ὥστε καὶ κατηγορηθῆναι αἰσχύνην αἰσχίστην ὀφλῆσαι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγράμματα συγγράψας, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πικρὰ περὶ τῶν ἐκκαρπεμένων τινὰς εἰπὼν, ἐκ ἐμιμήσατο τῷ ἔργῳ τὰς λόγους.* L. XLIII. 9. p. 346. Edit. Reimar. The passage, though ever so literally taken, may reasonably be understood to refer to Sallust's two Letters, addressed to Cæsar, written some years before, on the Administration of the Government; in the course of which he takes occasion pretty severely to reflect, among other crimes, on those alluded to by Dion Cassius. It is, however, to be remarked, that that historian could not here have the most distant intention of ascertaining the chronology of Sallust's compositions; nor could he intend that any construction, to that effect, should be put upon his words. Dion Cassius lived in the time of Alexander Severus: He evidently expressed the feelings of his contemporaries, or of himself, concerning

the extraordinary contrast between Sallust's government, and his writings, as the date of both were, in respect to the Romans of that day, *past events*, it was very natural for the historian so to represent them, and to say, in drawing a comparison between the one and the other, that Sallust *had* severely reprehended the conduct in question. This way of understanding the passage is, most probably, the real sense of the author: At any rate, no allusion can be intended to the Jugurthine War; because that would be to set Dion Cassius's expressions at variance with the positive assertions, as above quoted, of Sallust himself. Page 249. 250.

(50.) *Abest historia nostris literis*, &c. See Note 31. anteh. See likewise, for the circumstance of Cicero's quarrel with Sallust being made up, on Milo's trial, Essay First, page 42, and Notes.—In regard to the times, when Cicero's various treatises *De Legibus*, *De Claris Oratoribus*, and the *Orator ad M. Brutum*, came out, See Middleton, who has ascertained them with his usual accuracy.

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(51.) Middleton's Life of Cicero, Vol. I. p. 237.

(52.) See Classical Biography (a most useful work already noticed), in Art. Cicero, p. 109; where Dr Adam appears implicitly to have copied from Middleton, as he cites no antient authority, any more than that writer.

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(53.) See Euseb. Chronic. ad An. Abrah. MDCCCCLXXXII. i. e. A. C. 35. The struggle between Augustus and Mark Antony for the empire of Rome, was terminated by the naval battle of Actium, A. U. C. 723, where the latter was defeated, together with Cleopa-

Page 251. tra; from which period all authors consequently date the commencement of Augustus's reign.

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(54.) *Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat; deinde, ne quid verè non audeat? ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis,* &c. Cic. de Orat. L. II. 15. As the eye, says the judicious Polybius, is to the body natural, so is truth to history. If either be taken away, the body, in the one case, becomes unfit for action, and the narrative, in the other, is deprived of its utility. *Ὅτι καθάπερ ἐμψύχου σώματος τῶν ὄψεων ἐξαιρεθεισῶν ἀχρειοῦται τὸ ὅλον, οὕτως ἐξ ἱστορίας ἐὰν ἄρῃς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸ καταλειπόμενον αὐτῆς ἀνωφελὲς γίγνεται διήγημα.* L. XII. 5. In the comprehensive summary, given by Lucian, of the qualities requisite for writing history, he seems to have had the above celebrated passage of Cicero in his eye, as well as what has been said in several places, by Polybius, on the same subject, but particularly in L. I. 14. sub fin. The historian whom I should chuse, says the first mentioned writer, should possess many qualities. He should, in the first place, be fearless, and free, and uncorrupted; and thus exhibit, in what he composes, a zeal for freedom, and a love of truth. As Aristophanes says, he must not scruple to call things by their real names; neither giving to, nor withholding from any man, from favour or from enmity, the claims of right, uninfluenced alike by shame, by pity, or by remorse. With an even, but benevolent temper, he must next be able to rejudge the actions of men, so that none be appreciated beyond their real merit. In regard to country, he should be of no nation, a citizen of the world, and a stranger to local prejudices; fearing no potentate; owning no laws but those of justice; and careless, in his accounts, whether he please, or displease, the generality of the world. *Τοιοῦτος ἔν μοι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἔστω ἄφοβος, ἀδέκαστος, ἐλεύθερος, παῤῥησίας, καὶ ἀληθείας φίλος. ὡς ὁ Κωμικός φησι, τὰ σῦκα σῦκα, τὴν σκάφην δὲ, σκάφην ὀνομάσων, ἃ μίσει,*

ἀδὲ φιλίᾳ νέμων, ἀδὲ φειδόμενος, ἢ ἐλεῶν, ἢ αἰσχυνόμενος, ἢ δυσωπέμενος. ἴσος δικαστὴς εὖνες ἅπασιν, ἄχρι τε μὴ θατέρῳ τί ἀπονεῖμαι πλεῖον τε θέοντος, ξένος ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις, καὶ ἄπολις, αὐτόνομος, ἀβασίλευτος, ἀ τί τῳδε ἢ τῳδε δόξει λογιξόμενος, ἀλλὰ τί πέπρακται λέγων. Lucian. quomodo conscrib. sit Hist. p. 631. Edit. Græv. Page 252. 253.

It is singular that Dr Franklin, in his translation of this author, has, in a note on the above passage (See Vol. I. p. 406.), made Cicero, Strabo, and Polybius, all copy the idea from *Lucian*, who certainly lived so late as the time of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and was appointed Procurator of Egypt, by the latter Emperor.

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(55). Hist. L. II. 56.

(56.) Concerning the Sibyl, and the mysterious Books which she brought to king Tarquin, See the Notes on Catiline's Conspiracy, Sect. XLVIII.

(57. See Bel. Catilin. XXXI. XLVIII. Cicero, also, in his Third Oration against Catiline, expatiates on the awfulness and universality of this impression, and adds, that nothing, in such a crisis, could have saved the empire, but the powerful interposition of the Gods themselves, who, moved at length by prayers and supplications, condescended to obtain a mitigation of the decrees of fate in its favour. *Quo quidem tempore, cùm haruspices ex totâ Etruriâ convenissent, cædes atque incendia, et legum interitum, et bellum civile ac domesticum, et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi Dii immortales, omni ratione placati, suo numine propè fata ipsa flexissent.* Orat. in Catilin. III. 8.

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(58.) *Nam profectò memoriâ tenetis, Cottâ et Torquato Consulibus, complures in Capitolio turres de cælo esse percussas; cùm et simu-*

Page 253. *lachra Deorum immortalium depulsa sunt; et statuæ veterum hominum dejectæ; et legum æra liquefacta. Tuetus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio, parvum atque lactentem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis . . Nam, ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces, ardoremque cæli; ut fulminum jactus, ut terræ motus relinquam; ut omittam cetera, quæ tam multa nobis Consulibus facta sunt, ut hæc, quæ nunc fiunt, canere Dii immortales viderentur.* Cic. Orat. in Catilin. III. 8. No doubt, an orator, in his address to the people in the Forum, might allowably make such an appeal to their superstition and their prejudices, as would have been unworthy of the sober historian; but we find Livy and other writers often descending to the same arts, in order to gratify the love of the marvellous, both in themselves, and in their readers. The brazen figure of the infant Romulus, noticed in the above quotation, together with his brother Remus, sucking the wolf, is still preserved in the Capitol at Rome, with the marks of liquefaction, by a stroke of lightening, on one of the legs of the wolf. Cicero, in the Historical Poem, which he wrote on his own Consulship, particularly records this circumstance. It is supposed to be from the same celebrated statue that Virgil drew his beautiful description of the wolf and the twin-brothers, as engraved, by Vulcan, on the shield of Æneas;

> Geminos huic ubera circum
> Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
> Impavidos: Illam tereti cervice reflexam
> Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere linguâ.
>
> Æneid. L. VIII. 631.

In Cicero's Historical Poem, just now mentioned, a very happy poetical use is made of these portents and prodigies, in the passage beginning,

> Principio æthereo flammatus Jupiter igni
> Vertitur, et totum collustrat lumine mundum,
> Menteque divinâ cælum terrasque petissit;

a passage, in which he manifests such powers, as fully to disprove the supposed justice of Juvenal's well-known ridicule (Sat. X. 122—125.), and to convince us, how conspicuously he would have shone as a poet, had he chosen to dedicate his time to the muses. De Divin. L. I. 12. 13. See, also, some other beautiful specimens of Cicero's poetical remains, taken from his poem on Caius Marius, and his translations from Homer and Aratus. De Divin. L. I. 7. 8. 9. 47. II. 30. &c. Page 254. 255.

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(59.) *Simul id, quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant.* Sall. Bel. Catilin. XXXI. From these expressions, however, it is not to be imagined, that Sallust was an atomic, or Epicurean philosopher. On the contrary, he believed in the being of a God, and a superintending providence; and no antient writer, not even Plato or Cicero, has more clearly expressed his persuasion of the existence of a future state of rewards and punishments. See the striking passage quoted in Essay First (Note 80. on page 27.), from his Letters to Cæsar on the Administration of the Government.

(60.) *Crispus Sallustius* (says Petrarch), *nobilis historicus veritatis (sic enim de illo apud auctores verissimos scriptum video), quò fideliùs res Africæ complecteretur, libros Punicos perquisivit, perigrinamque linguam, per interpretem, flagranti studio scrutatus est; quin et maria transgressus dicitur, ut oculis suis crederet de conditionibus locorum.* De Sall. judic.

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(61.) Vibius Sequester, St. Jerom, and St. Isidore, all call Sallust *Auctor certissimus* (De Flumin. in Euphrat.—De loc. Hebraic. L. XIII. 21.); St Augustin, *Nobilitatæ veritatis historicus* (De Civit.

Page 255. Dei, L. I. 5.); and Festus Avienus (in Ora Maritim.), bears testimony to the esteem and veneration, in which his authority was held.

> Interrogasti, si tenes, Maeotici
> Situs quis esset æquoris. Sallustium
> Noram id dedisse; dicta et ejus omnibus
> Præjudicatæ auctoritatis ducier
> Non abnuebam: Ad ejus igitur inclytam
> Descriptionem (qua locorum formulam
> Imaginemque, expressor efficax stili
> Et veritatis, penè in obtutus dedit
> Lepore linguæ) multa rerum junximus.

(62.) CICERO, whose merit, during his memorable Consulship, was uncommonly great, did every thing in his power, by the most excessive vanity, to detract from it, in the eyes of his contemporaries. It was the perpetual theme of his private conversation; and, in most of his public appearances, either before the Senate, or the tribunals, he was sure to introduce the subject of Catiline and his Conspiracy, and, consequently, a laboured eulogium on his own merit, in bringing to light, and suppressing it. See Orat. pro Coel.—pro Syll. &c. But the most wonderful instance of his weakness, in this particular, we find recorded in his Familiar Letters. In the beautiful, but singular Epistle, addressed to his friend Lucceius, the historian, in which Cicero strives to induce that writer to undertake the history of his Consulship, he fairly desires his friend to blazon forth the transactions connected with it *beyond* their actual merit, and to neglect, in their favour, both his own sentiments, and the laws of history! No doubt, he says, Lucceius, in certain of his Prefaces, had very beautifully discoursed on the partialities, which are apt to beset the historian, and declared, that, powerful though they were as those of pleasure, like another Hercules, he would as powerfully resist them; still he beseeches him, as he values their attachment, to disregard, for once, a

specious theory, and even consent to the sacrifice of a little *truth*, to the sincerity of friendship! *Te planè etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementiùs etiam, quàm fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiæ negligas: Gratiamique illam, de quâ suavissimè in quodam proœmio scripsisti, à quâ te affici non magìs potuisse demonstras, quàm Herculem Xenophontium illum à voluptate; ea si me tibi vehementiùs commendabit, ne aspernere; amorique nostro, plusculùm etiam quàm concedet veritas, largiare.* Epist. ad Fam. L. V. 12. That Cicero should write thus is passing strange! But it is still more surprising, that he should be anxious to propagate his own disgrace, by desiring Atticus to ask to see the letter, and, if possible, to procure a copy of it from Lucceius; assuring him that it is composed in his very best manner! See Epist. ad Attic. L. IV. 6. Page 256.

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(63.) See Epist. ad Attic. L. XII. 21. In this Letter to Atticus, Cicero complains, that Brutus had committed more than one mistake in his life of Cato, particularly in misrepresenting the celebrated debate in the Senate, on the punishment of Catiline's associates (See the Notes on the Consp. of Catiline); and he seems greatly hurt at finding no warmer commendation of himself, than that of *Optimus Consul*, from the pen of such a friend. I suppose, says he, in writing to Atticus, that Brutus gives himself no small credit for calling me "an excellent Consul:" Yet what colder commendation, I pray you, could even an enemy have bestowed? *Hic autem se etiam tribuere multùm mi putat, quòd scripserit* Optimum Consulem: *Quis enim jejuniùs dixit inimicus?* It is from this passage that Dr Middleton supposes, and not without probability, that Sallust had the composition of Brutus in his eye, when he wrote his Catiline; and being disgusted, no less than the historian, with the vanity of Cicero, he resolved, in like manner, to bring forward Cato and Cæsar, and to exclude the great orator entirely from the front of his canvass. See Life of Cicero,

Page 257. Vol. II. p. 346. 8vo. Edit.—By the way, it may be remarked, that I have here an additional argument, against the chronology of Sallust's writings by Le Clerc, and also the authority of so correct a scholar as Dr Middleton, for controverting it; as he supposes Sallust to have copied, as above, from Brutus's account of Cato, which did not come out till the year of Rome 707, whereas Le Clerc makes Sallust's works to have been published at a prior period.

It is, notwithstanding, impossible to vindicate either Sallust or Brutus, from a striking want of candour in regard to Cicero. From the account of the historian, we should never once suspect, that Cicero had had the distinguished honour of being the first Roman, who obtained the title of "Father of his Country," both from the Senate itself, and publicly, in the Forum, from the people. See Orat. in Pison. III.—Plin. Hist. Nat. VII. 30.—Plutarch. in Vit. Ciceron.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 715. Edit. Toll. It was from this remarkable example, that the Emperors afterwards extorted, from their slaves and flatterers, an appellation, which Cicero, as Juvenal observes, so gloriously received from his fellow-citizens, while it could yet be bestowed as the gift of freedom;

> Roma parentem,
> Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.
> Sat. VIII. 243.

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(64.) Cato carried the Stoic principle, of never bending to circumstances, to such a height, that his virtues, on some occasions, were useless, and, on others, even injurious to his country. This was the opinion of him expressed by Cicero, who used to add, and with great justice, that he constantly spoke and acted, as if he really thought he lived in the fanciful Republic of Plato, and not among the corrupt descendants of Romulus. *Ille, optimo animo utens, et summâ fide,*

nocet interdum reipublicæ: Dicit enim, tanquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, Page 259.
non tanquam in Romuli fæce, sententiam. Epist. at Attic. L. II. 1.

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(65.) THE Roman writers, at least, have given to Sallust a decided preference, in this respect, to any one of their own historians: For Quintilian admits, that his matter is deeper, and more important than that of Livy; which last author, he says, should be first read by young persons, his composition being more adapted to their capacity, than that of Sallust. *Livium à pueris (legendum esse) magis quàm Sallustium: Et hic historiæ majoris est auctor; ad quem tamen intelligendum jam profectu opus sit.* Inst. Orat. L. II. 5. p. 126. Edit. Hack. It is singular that Patsal, in translating this, should have fairly reversed the proposition, and put Sallust for Livy, and Livy for Sallust. Barthius has taken great pains to explain away the meaning, by altering, without any authority, the reading of the passage. Yet, after all, even his opinion is sufficiently conclusive in favour of its true sense, since it amounts to this; that Livy's style displays more of eloquence, and good writing; but that Sallust has fulfilled, with greater merit, the laws of history. *Major auctor Livius, magis æstimandus ad omnem eloquentiam Sallustio; etsi Sallustius historicas leges quodammodo potiùs impleverit.* See Adversar. L. XLVII. 19. p. 2293.

The accurate and elegant Lipsius pretty nearly agrees with Quintilian, and does our author ample justice, in respect to the important qualities in question, candidly placing him at the head of historians of the purest age of Roman literature. From the page of Livy, he says, he always rises with delight, but from that of Sallust, with delight mingled with instruction, and with lessons the most important for the advancement of virtue, and for encountering the changes and chances of life. As for any other historians that succeeded, and even Tacitus, his distinguished *imitator*, Lipsius does not pretend, on account of the corruption of their style, to rank them with the writers

Page 259. of the Julian, or Augustan periods. For the gratification of the reader, I shall transcribe the entire passage (of which a part is quoted above in Note 35.), as it stands in the great critic's Dedication of his Tacitus to the Emperor Maximilian II. *Ex iis qui superant, C. Cæsar laudatur in primis; si ut disertus narrator, libens assentio; est enim ejus viri pura oratio, sine fuco ac calamistris ornata; vel Romanis vel Atticis Musis dignissima; sin ut perfectus historicus, dubitare me dicam; cùm et nonnulli fidem ejus in historiâ civili requirant, et illud ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν totum ei desit. Itaque ipse Cæsar, cæteroqui minimè sui contemtor, Commentarios inscripsit, non Historias, et hoc ipso laudem veram meruit, quòd falsam affectare contemsit. Jam verò princeps historicorum audit Livius; si magnitudinem operis, et varietatem rerum spectamus; rectè. Sed tamen (quod more majorum liceat) à Livii lectione semper commotior surrexi, non semper melior, aut ad vitæ casus instructior; Sallustius unus ex tribus viris illis est, qui feliciter consecutus videtur hæc omnia, et quem, si mei arbitrii res sit, in hoc lustro principem senatûs historici legere non dubitem; nam ceteri deinceps minorum quasi gentium historici, quantùm à superiorum ætate, tantùm et à laude afuerunt, nisi quod admirabile est, quantùm inter istos unus excellat* imitator *Sallustii Cornelius Tacitus, omni virtute antiquis proximus, longo quidem intervallo, sed tamen proximus; et, si linguæ Latinæ esset eadem puritas, cetera sic perfectus, ut vocare illos ipsos antiquos in certamen possit dignitatis.* Tacit. Lips. in Dedicat. pp. 1. 2.

(66.) It has appeared doubtful to some, if any thing really has been gained by our historians, in deviating from this method, and summing up the character, at the close of the narrative. Mr Pinkerton, in his late History of Scotland, has endeavoured to revive the antient practice: But whether, amidst the caprices of fashion, from which literature is by no means exempt, any effect will be produced by so respectable an example, time only can decide.

By those who favour the modern practice, perhaps the same thing may be said, as of the antient and modern methods of composing systems of science. The Aristotelian logic led the antients to adopt the synthetic process, in every thing where synthesis could be employed, while the better logic of Bacon has induced the moderns to prefer the method by analysis. In this view, it may be observed, that no man can fairly demand our assent to his portrait of a hero, till he has fully laid before us the actions of his life: But, this once done, he may depict it as he pleases: He has furnished us with the means of both appreciating his skill, and judging of his colouring. On the other hand, if he commence his narrative with a display of the character, it may be said, on the same principle, that he desires us to take for granted the things to be proved; and the more masterly the delineation, it the more certainly tends to prejudice the mind, and to prevent it from impartially deciding from the facts. Perhaps, the purposes of history would be best answered by a union of both methods; by as much of delineation in the outset, as should introduce, to our acquaintance, the different actors in the scene, without superseding the practice of ultimately summing up, and fully appreciating their characters. Page 261.

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(67.) The author of the Origin and Progress of Language (who, in spite of his Greek prejudices, is a critic of great merit) strenuously contends not only for the use of Speeches, but even of the Dialogue in History, and for no other reason, than that both were attempted by Herodotus, whom, it seems, he considers as the most perfect of historians. As to the Speeches, he decidedly prefers them, to what he calls "letting the story stand still, to make long reflections, which stick out, as it were, and make, properly speaking, no part of the work." See Vol. III. p. 365. Modern historians, he likewise thinks, have a much lighter task to perform, by "easing themselves"

Page 263. (as he singularly phrazes it) of these vehicles of Greek and Roman eloquence. In both respects, I apprehend, this respectable writer is mistaken. Had he not lost sight of the *το πρέπον* of his favourite Greeks, he surely would have seen, that notwithstanding the reason assigned in the text, namely, that public business was transacted by public speaking, the antient writers might have left out, had they so inclined, the rhetorical part of their work, yet, for the very same reason, the moderns could not have admitted it, without manifest absurdity. In regard to the supposed "lightness" of the task of composing modern history, I believe the truth of the opposite proposition will appear evident to any one, who candidly reflects on the wideness of the range, lately taken by the art, beyond the mere relation of civil events; the political, and philosophical speculations it involves; and the comprehensive view it must exhibit of literature, of arts, and of manners. Formerly it was only the delineation of a few prominent figures; now it is the composition of a great, and complicated picture.

(68.) In as far as the speeches may be considered as the work of either historian, they display a composition of business, not of declamation; that is, the arguments employed in them are drawn from the nature, and real circumstances of the case, not from vague, and general topics, called by the Greek critics *σοφιστικη περιεργια*, and so much laboured in the schools.

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(69.) Τας *μέντοι γενικὰς αὐτῆς διαφορὰς ταύτας εἶναι πείθομαι τὰς τρεῖς, αἷς ὁ βελόμενος ὀνόματα θήσεται τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἐπειδὰν τές τε χαρακτῆρας αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς ἀκέσῃ. Ἐγὼ μέντοι κυρίοις ὀνόμασιν ἐκ ἔχων αὐτὰς προσαγορεῦσαι, ὡς ἀκατονομάστες, μεταφορικοῖς ὀνόμασι καλῶ, τὴν μὲν Αὐστηρὰν, τὴν δὲ Γλαφυρὰν, ἢ Ἀνθηρὰν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην Κοινήν.* Dionys. Hallicarn. Περὶ Συνθέσεως. XXI. See also Περὶ *τῆς δεινοτητος τῦ Δημοσθ.* XXXIII.

(70.) ORIGIN and Progress of Language, Vol. III. p. 199. Page 264.

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(71.) SEE the admirable account of Thucydides's manner of writing, by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Περὶ τῶν Θουκυδίδου ἰδιωμάτων. in Op. Tom. VI. p. 790. &c. Edit. Reiske.—Cicero observes, with great truth, that of all the faults in writing, obscurity is, without doubt, the most reprehensible; *In oratione civili vel maximum est vitium.* On the force and dignity of Thucydides, in general, he bestows a high encomium. As to the speeches, he says, which that historian has introduced into his work, they are very numerous, and I have always been accustomed to mention them with applause: But the truth is, I could compose nothing resembling them, if I had the inclination; and I should have no inclination, were I possessed of the ability. Perspicuity, he declares, in another place, is the first of literary virtues; and it is vain to expect, that he who is so obscure as not to be understood, can ever be so pleasing as sincerely to be admired. *Thucydides rerum gestarum pronunciator sincerus, et grandis etiam fuit . . Orationes, autem, quas interposuit (multæ enim sunt), eas ego laudare soleo; imitari neque possim, si velim, nec velim, fortasse, si possim . . Nec sperandum qui non dicat, quod intelligamus, hunc posse, quod admiremur, dicere.* De Clar. Orat. LXXXIII.—De Orat. L. III. 10. See also, to the same purpose, Orat. ad Brut. IX.

(72.) *ÆMULUS Thucydides Sallustius.* Vell. Paterc. L. II. 36.

(73.) QUINTILIAN, in describing the qualities, which he considers a good style should possess, mentions, in the first place, perspicuity; next, a proper choice, and clear arrangement of words; and these to be disposed in sentences, neither tiresome from their length, nor involved in their construction. In a word, a good style, says he, should never be redundant, and never wanting. *Nobis prima sit virtus per-*

Page 265. 266. *spicuitas, propria verba, rectus ordo, non in longum dilata conclusio : Nihil neque desit, neque superfluat.* Inst. Orat. L. VIII. 2. p. 578. Edit. Hack.

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(74.) See this point examined, in Note 9. anteh.

(75.) *Sit nobis, igitur, ornatus et suavis orator (nec tamen potest aliter esse), ut suavitatem habeat austeram et solidam, non dulcem atque decoctam.* De Orat. L. III. 26.

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(76.) *Cum sit præcipua in Thucydide virtus brevitas, hâc eum Sallustius vicit, et in suis illum castris cæcidit.* Sen. Controvers. L. IV. 24.

(77.) The sentence of Thucydides, which Seneca quotes, in order to justify his criticism, appears to have been borrowed, by Demosthenes, as well as Sallust, from the Greek historian, and is to be found, used by the former, with a trifling variation, in Olynth. II. (p. 8. Edit. Wolfii) ; but the original of Thucydides is now lost. Seneca gives the sentence as follows ; *Δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ ὑπεραξίαι συγκρύψαι, καὶ συσκιάσαι τὰ ἑκάστων ἁμαρτήματα.* The sentence in Sallust is taken from the speech of the Consul Æmilius Lepidus, in the first book of the general History ; *Res secundæ mirè sunt vitiis obtentui.* Now, says Seneca, with a natural exultation in the triumph of his own language, *In sententiâ Græcâ tam brevi habes, quæ salvo sensu detrahas : Deme vel συγκρύψαι, vel συσκιάσαι, deme ἑκάστων ; constabit sensus, etiam si non æquè comptus, æquè tamen integer. At ex Sallustii sententiâ nihil demi, sine detrimento sensûs, potest.* Controvers. L. IV. 24.

To this comparison of the two historians Seneca subjoins a curious

anecdote, which sufficiently proves, that the hatred and envy entertained by Livy, against our author, were well known in the days of the Rhetorician, although the documents concerning it no longer exist. To so great a height had Livy's animosity against his rival been raised, that he used to quote the sentence above mentioned, as a piece of plagiarism from Thucydides, and declare, that the force and elegance of the latter were destroyed, by the want of ability in his imitator. This, however, adds Seneca, he chose to maintain, from no partiality to Thucydides: But he took an opportunity of praising the Greek writer, from whom he thought he had nothing to fear; imagining that Sallust would be more easily overcome, after making him appear so inferior to his master. *Titus autem Livius tam iniquus Sallustio fuit, ut hanc ipsam sententiam, et tanquam translatam, et tanquam corruptam, dum transfertur, objiceret Sallustio. Nec hoc amore Thucydidis facit, ut illum præferat: Laudat quem non timet; et facilius putat posse à se Sallustium vinci, si ante à Thucydide vincatur.* Controvers. L. IV. ubi sup. See also Epit. Declam. L. IX. 1. Page 266.

(78.) *Nihil est in historiâ purâ et illustri brevitate dulcius.* Cic. de Clar. Orat. LXXV. Brevity, says Lucian, in his lively manner, is of peculiar importance in historical composition, especially if your subject be copious: But let this quality appear not so much in words, as in the illustration of things, and the narration of facts. While you but slightly touch on some, that are of little moment, and even entirely pass over others, you can, with the greater propriety, enlarge on those which may deserve it. When you give an entertainment to your friends, you, of course, set before them the choicest viands, the kid, the hare, and the wild boar, with a profusion of game and sweetmeats; but you certainly do not offer them a mess of pottage, or Saperda *, or any other coarse, and vulgar dish. Τάχος ἐπὶ πᾶσι χρήσιμον.

* A species of bad, coarse fish, that came from the Euxine sea, and was well known at Athens. See Pers. Sat. V. 135.

Page 266. καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μὴ ἀπορία τῶν λεκτέων εἴη. καὶ τοῦτο πορίζεσθαι χρὴ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἢ ῥημάτων, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων. λέγω δὲ εἰ παραθέοις μὲν τὰ μικρὰ, καὶ ἦττον ἀναγκαῖα, λέγοις δ' ἱκανῶς τὰ μεγάλα. μᾶλλον δὲ, καὶ παραλειπτέον πολλά. ἐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἐστιᾶς τὲς φίλες, καὶ πάντα ἦ παρεσκευασμένα, διὰ τοῦτο ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πέμμασι, καὶ τοῖς ὀρνέοις, καὶ λοπάσι τοσαύταις, καὶ συσὶν ἀγρίοις, καὶ λαγωοῖς, καὶ ὑπογαστρίοις, καὶ σαπέρδην ἐνθήσεις, καὶ ἔντος, εἴ τι κἀκεῖνο παρεσκεύαστο. ἀμελήσεις δὲ τῶν εὐτελεστέρων. Quomodo conscrib. sit Hist. pp. 636. 637. Edit. Græv.

(79.) See Murphy's beautiful Essay on the Life and Genius of Tacitus, p. 30.

(80.) Style, says Cicero, is considered as disjointed, when copulatives are omitted, and strokes of sentiment follow one another in quick succession. *Dissolutio sive disjunctio est, quæ, conjunctionibus è medio sublatis, partibus separatis effertur, hoc modo : Gere morem parenti ; pare cognatis ; obsequere amicis ; obtempera legibus.* Ad Herenn. L. IV. 30. It was on this account that the great orator, whose own manner is so diametrically opposite, thought that that of Brutus seemed careless and disjointed *(otiosum atque disjunctum)*, because he, like Sallust, was a close thinker, and aimed at the brevity of Attic eloquence. To discard the copulatives, however, for the sake of energy, is a rule laid down by the best antient critics. Longinus has not failed to take notice of the admirable effect produced by their judicious rejection (Περὶ Ὕψες. XIX.), and has illustrated the principle by an example from Xenophon, where the words are poured along in such a manner, as that they seem to outstrip the thought of the writer, or the speaker. See, also, Aristot. Rhet. L. III. 18. It must, nevertheless, be acknowledged, that a book, wholly composed in this manner, would much more resemble the *materials* of composition, than good composition itself. For, as the different members of a well-constructed period, may properly be compared to the stones in

the arches of a building, which, being truly joined, and fitted to one another, produce, by mutual pressure, the strength of the whole; so, on the other hand, the members of abrupt, and disjointed sentences are like stones thrown together by chance, rather than intention, and are without solidity or order. Page 267. Ἔοικε γοῦν τὰ μὲν περιοδικὰ κῶλα τοῖς λίθοις τοῖς ἀντερείδουσιν τὰς περιφερεῖς στέγας καὶ συνέχουσιν· τὰ δὲ τῆς διαλελυμένης ἑρμηνείας, διερριμμένοις πλησίον λίθοις μόνον, καὶ ὑ συγκειμένοις. Demet. Phaler. Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας. XIII

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(81.) THAT, says Quintilian, which offends the ear, does not readily gain admission to the mind *(Nihil intrare potest in affectum, quod in aure, velut quodam vestibulo, statim offendit.* Inst. Orator. L. IX. 4.); and it must be acknowledged, that the abruptness of Sallust's composition renders it extremely defective in this particular. In order to form a good style, and especially for historical purposes, the sentences should be closed with strength, variety, and harmony. The antient critics held this to be so indispensable, that Quintilian (ubi sup.) has treated the subject at large, and in a manner the most deserving of the young student's attention.

Aristotle defines a legitimate period as follows; Λέγω δὲ περίοδον, λέξιν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν, αὐτὴν καθ' αὑτὴν, καὶ μέγεθος εὐσυνοπτον: That is, a period is a composition of words, having a beginning, and an end in itself, and is of such an extent, as that it can be comprehended in one view. See Rhetoric. L. III. 9. Also Demetrius Phalereus (Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας. XII.), and Cicero (De Orat. ad Brut. LXI.) who have both nearly copied Aristotle's definition. The opposite of a period he calls Λέξις εἰρομενη, which has neither beginning nor end in itself, and is terminated by the sense alone. In this sort of composition the words are so combined, that the ear does not know where to expect a conclusion, and is, by consequence, surprised when the conclusion comes; whereas, in a proper period, the ear foresees, as it

Page 267. were, the end, and is not deceived by its coming too soon, or too late. Like racers, as Demetrius Phalereus says, who, when they have once started in the course, clearly perceive, not only their outset and their progress, but also the goal to which they are tending: *Ὥσπερ οἱ δρομεῖς ἀφεθέντες· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον συνεμφαίνεται τῇ ἀρχῇ τὸ δρόμε τὸ τέλος.* Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας. XI. Hence the mind acquires a perception of number, measure, and aptness of parts, which gives great pleasure. Very different from this are, certainly, too many of Sallust's sentences. Of some of them it may even be said, as the elder Seneca used to say of those of Fabianus, a celebrated philosopher and rhetorician ot his time, *Quædam tam subitò desinunt, ut non brevia sint, sed abrupta.* Controvers. L. II. in Procem.

(82.) It was in the age of Sallust, says the younger Seneca, or, at least, soon after, that short sentences, unexpected clausules, and unintelligible brevity, came first to be cultivated. Arruntius, a man of uncommon temperance, and of the most amiable manners, who is known for his history of the Punic Wars, imitated Sallust, and affected to be what was called a Sallustian writer. But, like other writers, who endeavour to excel by imitation, he did not improve upon his model. What in Sallust is rarely seen, occurs in every sentence of Arruntius. The reason is plain. The sententious style came naturally to the one, whereas it was the painful effect of labour in the other. *Sallustio vigente, amputatæ sententiæ, et verba ante expectatum cadentia, et obscura brevitas, fuere pro cultu. Arruntius, vir raræ frugalitatis, qui historias belli Punici scripsit, fuit Sallustianus, et in illud genus nitens .. Quæ apud Sallustium rara fuerunt, apud hunc crebra sunt, et penè continua, nec sine causâ; ille, enim, in hæc incidebat, et hic illa quærebat.* Epist. CXIV.

(83.) Of all the critics, who have animadverted on the style of Sallust, Lord Monboddo appears to be the most temperate and judi-

cious. He candidly rejects the stale, and groundless cavils about the historian's use of new, or his revival of old words, and fixes, at once, on the points, in which he is clearly most deficient, viz. connection of style, and variety and harmony of periods. See Orig. and Prog. of Language, Vol. III. pp. 200. 201. &c. From this writer's opinion on the entire merits of Sallust's literary character, no sensible person would probably dissent, were it not for the wildness and oddity of some of his prejudices, one of which is the fancy, that no Roman author, *later than Cicero*, can lay claim to purity or elegance, and that those who came after him are, one and all, poets as well as prose-writers, mere pupils of the Declaiming-school! In the course of the present Essay and Notes, I shall have occasion more fully to notice the groundlessness of this opinion. I shall clearly show, that Sallust, at least, was no pupil of the Declaimers, and that such a notion is both historically and chronologically unfounded, were there no other argument to demonstrate its fallacy. Page 268.

(84.) COMMATIC sentences (from the verb *κόπτω, scindo, amputo*) are concise expressions, less than the members of a regular sentence, and of which the sense is complete within themselves; as the following well-known sayings; "Dionysius at Corinth; Know thyself; Obey God;" and the like. Η δὲ τοιαύτη βραχύτης κατὰ τὴν συνθεσιν, κόμμα ὀνομάζεται· ὁρίζονται δ' αὐτὸ ὧδε· Κόμμα ἐστὶ τὸ κῶλε ἔλαττον· οἷον τὸ προειρημένον, τό τε "Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ," καὶ τὸ "γνῶθι σεαυτὸν," καὶ τὸ "ἑπε Θεῷ," τὰ τῶν σοφῶν. Demet. Phaler. Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας. IX.

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(85.) THE revival of old words is, without doubt, one of the niceties in composition, that is not to be attempted but by great masters. This may be done in two different ways. First, as it is said in the text, by restoring such words as are grown wholly obsolete; and,

Page 268. Secondly, by selecting, from among those still current, and not quite laid aside, many that are forcible and expressive. These rules will be found to apply to all languages. There is a passage in Cicero, which recommends this twofold, and advantageous use of old words, as an inducement to his orator diligently to study the antient writers, and to improve by their example. *Omnis loquendi elegantia* (says he), *quamquam expolitur scientiâ literarum, tamen augetur legendis oratoribus (veteribus) et poëtis. Sunt enim illi veteres, qui ornare nondum poterant ea, quæ dicebant, omnes propè præclarè locuti : Quorum sermone assuefacti qui erunt, ne cupientes quidem, poterunt loqui, nisi Latinè. Neque tamen erit utendum verbis iis, quibus jam consuetudo nostra non utitur, nisi quando ornandi causâ, parcè, quod ostendam : Sed usitatis ita poterit uti, lectissimis ut utatur is, qui in veteribus erit scriptis studiosè, et multùm volutatus.* De Orat. L. III. 10. These choice words *(verba lectissima)*, as Bishop Hurd well remarks (in his Notes on Horace's Art of Poetry), are such as the old writers have employed, in some striking and energetic sense, and which the moderns may adopt with advantage, and without being subject to the charge of either affectation or barbarism. As to the use of old terms, that is, such as have become wholly obsolete, Cicero directs, that it should be made more sparingly *(parcè utendum)*. Any other practice, in an orator, would be intolerable affectation; although, with the historian, and particularly with the poet, a greater licence is admissible: For, as he says in another place, *Hæc sunt poëtarum licentiæ liberiora quàm nostra.* See De Orat. L. III. 38.

(86.) It appears that Sallust attained the excellence, afterwards so well described by Horace, in his Epistle to the Pisos;

> Dixeris egregiè, notum si callida verbum
> Reddiderit junctura novum—
>
> De Art. Poët. 47.;

a passage, which is justly commended by Dr Hurd, as one of the finest in the poem. This *Callida junctura*, or art of disposing common words in such a manner, as to have the effect and the grace of new ones, is a secret, the same critic observes, that no poet, whether antient or modern, more perfectly understood, than our own Shakespeare, and of which he produces several excellent examples. See Notes on the Art of Poetry, in hunc loc. The great advantage of this art, says Quintilian, is to teach us, in grave composition, to avoid all vulgar phraseology, and to elevate to importance such words or expressions, as daily use must necessarily debase, and render displeasing to a correct, and polished taste. *Ut quotidiani, et semper eodem modo formati sermonis fastidium levet, et nos à vulgari dicendi genere defendat.* Inst. Orat. L. I. 6. Page 268.

(87.) It is certain that this is the opinion of the best antient critics. Dionysius Halicarnassensis highly commends the use of old words in Plato: Ὅτε τίνος αὐτῇ (λέξει τῆ Πλάτωνος) καὶ χυῆς ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἠρέμα καὶ λελησθότως ἐπιτρέχει, χλοερόν τέ τι καὶ τεθήλος καὶ μεστὸν ὥρας ἄνθος ἀναδίδωσι· καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐωδεστάτων λειμώνων αὖρά τις ἡδεῖα ἐξ αὐτῆς φέρεται. Epist. ad Pomp. II. p. 759. Edit. Reiske. Cicero, besides the passage quoted in Note 79. anteh., wherein he advises their revival, expressly tells us, in another place, that words drawn from the antient poets and orators, where introduced with judgment, never fail to give dignity and elevation to style; *Quibus, loco positis, grandior atque antiquior oratio sæpe videri solet.* De Orat. L. III. 38. A good writer, says Horace, will not omit so salutary a method of recruiting the vigour, and adding to the copiousness of language; and he even names the writings of Cato, as a rich fund, from which he might derive his materials.

> Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet, atque
> Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,

Page 268. Quæ priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,
Nunc situs informis premit, et deserta vetustas.
Epist. L. II. 2. v. 115.

And Quintilian, who may be called the last of the Roman critics, not only applauds the extraordinary success of Virgil, in the practice in question, but repeatedly adds his own suffrage to the taste and judgment of the poet. *Propriis verbis dignitatem dat antiquitas: Namque et sanctiorem, et magis admirabilem faciunt orationem, quibus non quilibet fuerat usurus: Eoque ornamento acerrimi judicii P. Virgilius unici est usus:* Olli, *enim, et* quianam, *et* mis, *et* ponè, *pellucent et aspergunt illam, quæ etiam in picturis est gratissima, vetustatis inimitabilem arti auctoritatem.* Inst. Orat. L. VIII. 3. p. 585. Edit. Hack. *Verba, à vetustate repetita, non solùm magnos assertores habent, sed etiam afferunt orationi majestatem aliquam, non sine delectatione: Nam et auctoritatem antiquitatis habent; et, quia intermissa sunt, gratiam novitati similem parant.* Id. L. I. 6. p. 65.

There is, perhaps, no principle, that applies more universally than this, to all polished languages. Somewhat more than half a century ago, its useful effects were remarkably exemplified in England. By an anxious desire to imitate the French writers, who, to say the truth, had copied from the very worst ages of antiquity, we were in no small danger of losing the *Verus sanguis*, the native Anglicism of our tongue. An affected delicacy began to creep into fashion, and a feminine curiosity in the choice of words; of which some were rejected as old and barbarous, and others, as harsh and unpolite. Diffusion, periphrasis, and general expression were the consequence; and, in a word, some progress was made in effeminating the language, and vitiating the national taste. It was in this state of things that men like Johnson, Warburton, Burke, and Hurd appeared, who had recourse to the elder writers; to Raleigh, Bacon, and Hooker, to Spenser, Shakespeare, and Sidney. Their works, as the great Lexicographer expresses it, in the Preface to his Dictionary, are "the wells

of English undefiled;" and to them it certainly is owing, and to others who have drawn from them, that we possess any thing of energy, of force, or characteristic vigour in our style. Page 268.

The analogy, which is mentioned by Cicero, between the respectability of age, and that of the old Roman writers, may well be applied to those of England, and, indeed, it is probable, with fully more propriety. As age, says he, in the living character, bespeaks authority, and impresses veneration, so we may transfer the feeling to those great exemplars. He, who impartially considers them, will be convinced, how completely their defects are overbalanced by their virtues; and he will rather agree with me, when I value what they have, than uselessly regret what they never could possess; I mean manly sense, and genuine diction, not the boast of accuracy, or the polish of periods. *Habet autem, ut in ætatibus auctoritatem senectus, sic in exemplis antiquitas; quæ, quidem, apud me ipsum valet plurimùm. Nec ego id, quod deest antiquitati, flagito potiùs, quàm laudo, quod est; præsertim, eùm ea majora judicem quæ sunt, quàm illa quæ desunt. Plus est, enim, in verbis et sententiis boni, quibus illi excellunt, quàm in conclusione sententiarum, quam non habent.* Orat. ad Brut. L.

(88.) ORAT. ad Brut. XXII. This important rule, in regard to composition, is well worthy the attention of every man, who aspires to write with purity and elegance. It is given, by the great critic, rather more at length, in another place, where, speaking of the opposite extremes of exuberance and parsimony, in the use of rhythm or numbers, he says; *Cùm in plerisque, tum in hoc genere, nimium quod est offendit vehementiùs, quàm id, quod videtur parum.* Orat. ad Brut. LIII.

(89.) *ORNATUR oratio genere primùm, et quasi colore quodam, et succo suo. Nam ut gravis, ut suavis, ut erudita sit, ut liberalis, ut*

Page 269. *admirabilis, ut polita, ut sensus, ut dolores habeat, quantum opus sit, non est singulorum articulorum; in toto spectantur hæc corpore.* Cic. de Orat. L. III. 25.

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(90.) *Genus dicendi est eligendum, quod maximè teneat eos, qui audiant, et quod non solùm delectet, sed etiam sine satietate delectet.* Cic. de Orator, L. III. 25.

(91.) The words *Sensus* and *Sententia* seem to have been technical terms with the antient critics. According to the established usage, says Quintilian, *Sensus* signifies our conceptions, as they arise in the mind; whereas *Sententia* denotes a proposition, usually put in the close of a period, and so expressed as to dart a sudden brilliancy; and thence it is denominated *Lumen orationis.* This species of artificial ornament, he adds, which the antients used with caution, unceasingly glitters, and without taste or judgment, in our modern compositions. *Consuetudo jam tenuit, ut mente concepta* sensus *vocaremus; lumina autem, præcipuèque in clausulis posita,* sententias. *Quæ minùs crebra apud antiquos, nostris temporibus modo carent.* Inst. Orator. L. VIII. 5. sub init. These "luminous sentences," as the same judicious critic observes, may be termed the eyes of fine composition: But we should remember, that eyes should not be placed in every part of the body, lest the other members thereby lose their function. *Ego verò hæc lumina orationis velut oculos quosdam esse eloquentiæ credo: Sed neque oculos esse toto corpore velim, ne cætera membra suum officium perdant.* L. VIII. 5. p. 614.

(92.) An indulgence in the manner of these writers Cicero thinks perfectly allowable in history, and other compositions of the epidictic kind. *Datur venia* (says he) *concinnitati sententiarum, et arguti, certique, et circumscripti verborum ambitus conceduntur. De indus-*

triâque non ex insidiis, sed apertè ac palàm elaboratur, ut verba ver- Page 269.
bis, quasi dimensa et paria, respondeant; ut crebrò conferantur pugnantia, comparenturque contraria; et ut pariter extrema terminentur, eundemque referant in cadendo sonum. Orat. ad Brut. XII. See also Sect. LV.

Gorgias was a philosopher of Leontium in Sicily, who flourished about 450 years before the Christian era, and may properly be called the father of the orators and sophists. He was also the master of Socrates, and many other well-known philosophers, and the first who undertook to discourse extemporaneously on any subject that was proposed to him. Cic. de Invent. L. I. 5.—De Orat. L. I. 22.—De Fin. Bonor. L. II. 1.—Quintil. Inst. Orat. L. III. 1.—Philostrat. de Vit. Sophist. L. I. p. 487. Edit. Morel. So great was the consideration in which he was held, that Plato gave the name of Gorgias to his celebrated Dialogue against the sophists; and a golden statue was, by the consent of all Greece, erected to him at Delphi. He survived Socrates, and died at the extraordinary age, according to some, of 107, and, according to others, of 108, or 109 years. Cic. de Orat. L. I. 11. III. 32. De Senect. V.—Quintil. Inst. Orat. L. III. 1.—Diog. Laërt. L. VIII. 58.—Suid. in voc. Gorg. Gorgias and Thrasymachus, as Cicero tells us, first cultivated numbers in prose, and knew how to introduce into their compositions the ornaments of an artificial, or made style; *Arte quadam verba vinxissent.*

But Isocrates, the cotemporary of Plato, and the successor of Gorgias, not only excelled in the antithetical manner, but likewise carried the harmony of periods to perfection. Cic. Orat. ad Brut. XIII. De Clar. Orat. VIII. He seldom spoke in public himself, his style being, as Quintilian expresses it, *palestræ quàm pugnæ magis accommodatus*; but, by composing orations for the instruction of others, he acquired the fame of a master, and his house became, as it were, the rhetorical school of Greece. Cic. de Clar. Orat. VIII. XII. See the eulogium, pronounced upon him, while yet a youth, by

Page 269. Socrates, in the Phædrus of Plato, who predicted his eminence, both as an orator, and a philosopher (p. 279. Edit. Serran.). On the mention of this passage, Cicero declares, that those who are unable to join with him in admiring Isocrates, may condemn his taste; but that he cheerfully consents to be thought in the wrong, while he has Socrates and Plato to keep him in countenance. *Me, autem, qui Isocratem non diligunt, unà cum Socrate, et cum Platone, errare patiantur.* Orat. ad Brut. XIII.

(93.) See Turneb. Adversar. L. XXVIII. 22. The Attic manner is a term universally applied, by the antient critics, to denote whatever is most pure, and delightful in composition, *Atticè dicere, est optimè dicere;* and particularly as comprehending the united qualities of force, elegance, and compression. See Dionysius Halicarnassensis, on what he calls the λέκτικη δεινότης of Demosthenes. Cic. de Clar. Orat. XLVI. LXXXII. LXXXV. XCV. Orat. ad Brut. VIII.—Quintil. Inst. Orat. L. X. 1. XII. 10.

(94.) The only Roman orator, whom Sallust seems much to have resembled, was the celebrated Marcus Crassus. His orations are entirely lost; but such is the veneration, in which his powers are held by Cicero, that he has assigned him the principal place among the interlocutors in the Dialogue *De Oratore,* and handed him down as a model of eloquence. In the treatise *De Claris Oratoribus,* he describes the style of this extraordinary speaker to have been at once eminently powerful and pleasing. In the same manner, as Scævola was accounted the most elegant among the concise, Crassus was thought the most concise among the elegant orators of the period in which they flourished: Yet such was withal his correctness and purity, that he displayed not a single spark of counterfeit lustre. The characteristic excellencies, however, of Crassus's style were bre-

vity and compression of periods; and, what is so seldom to be found in the same person, it was at once singularly concise, and uncommonly splendid. *Crassus erat elegantium parcissimus, Scævola parcorum elegantissimus . . tamen, in his omnibus, sine ullo fuco veritatis color. Quinetiam comprehensio et ambitus verborum erat apud illum contractus et concisus . . quodque difficile est, idem et perornatus, et perbrevis.* De Clar. Orat. XL. &c. Page 269.

(95.) THE principal merit of Demosthenes's manner seems to have been, that it was an uncommon style made out of common words; and hence, in the opinion of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, his λέκτικη δεινότης, his admirable force and energy, proceeded rather from a happy composition, than a fastidious selection, of the words themselves: *Tantum series juncturaque pollet.* It is from the want, or the possession, as he observes, of this valuable art, that the same words, differently arranged, shall produce flatness, ungracefulness, and deformity, or shall appear copious and elegant, and even energetic and sublime. It is thus chiefly that one poet or orator is enabled so greatly to excel another. Αυτη τε, τὰ αὐτὰ λαμβάνουσα ὀνόματα, τοτὲ μὲν ἄμορφα καὶ πλωχὰ καὶ ταπεινὰ ποιεῖ φαίνεσθαι τὰ νοήματα, τοτὲ δὲ ὑψηλὰ καὶ πλούσια καὶ ἁδρὰ και καλά. Καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα διαλλάττει ποιητής τε ποιητοῦ, καὶ ῥήτωρ ῥήτορος, τῷ συντιθέναι δεξιῶς τὰ ὀνόματα. Περὶ Συνθέσεως IV. It must, notwithstanding, be acknowledged, that, true as the general principle in some degree is, in regard to all languages, it is far more remarkably illustrated in the Greek and Latin, than in any modern tongue; where, from want of variety both in flexion and termination, almost the whole is left to depend on juxtaposition alone.

(96.) THE difference between the Attic and the Asiatic eloquence, says Quintilian, was well known, and of long standing among the Greeks. The style of the former was close and pure, that of the

Page 269. latter empty, inflated, and ostentatious. In the Attic, there was nothing idle or redundant: The Asiatic, on the other hand, swelled beyond bounds, and affected to dazzle, by laboured wit, and meretricious ornament. Cicero was said, by his cotemporaries, to be a speaker of the tumid, or Asiatic school. They did not scruple to pronounce him diffuse and turgid, frequently redundant, and fond of repetition. His wit, they said, was sometimes frigid and misplaced; his composition cold and inflated; and fuller, in a word, of feminine decoration, than became a man. *Et antiqua quidem illa divisio inter Asianos atque Atticos fuit; cùm hi pressi et integrî, contrà, inflati illi et inanes, haberentur; et in his nihil superflueret, illis judicium maximè et modus deesset . . Ciceronem, tamen, et suorum homines temporum incessere audebant ut tumidiorem, et Asianum, et redundantem; et in repetitionibus nimium, et in salibus aliquando frigidum, et in compositione fractum, exultantem, ac penè viro molliorem.* Inst. Orat. L. XII. 10. pp. 895. 896. See also L. XII. 1. p. 860. From the letters of both Calvus and Brutus to Cicero, we learn, that the former thought him diffuse and feeble; and the latter in express terms declares, that he was weakened into length, and utterly deficient in sinew or vigour. As to the two Asiniuses, they entertained nearly the same sentiment. Cornelius Nepos, another friend, and who is himself a chaste and correct writer, differed so much from Cicero, as the latter informs us, in opinion concerning his style, that those passages, of which the great orator thought he had most cause to boast, were by this friend frankly declared to be undeserving the perusal of men of taste. *Ex epistolis et Calvi et Bruti, ad Ciceronem missis, facilè est deprehendere, Ciceronem à Calvo malè audivisse, tanquam salutum et enervem; à Bruto, autem, ut ipsius verbis utar, fractum et elumbem.* Dialog. de Oratorib. XVIII. *An cupidus ille (C. Nepos) meorum? qui ea, quibus maximè γαυριῶ, legenda non putet.* Cic. Epist. ad Attic. L. XVI. 5. No doubt, as Quintilian observes, these strictures may,

in a certain degree, be imputed to contemporary jealousy and rival- Page 269.
ship: But, whatever may be said of the Pollios, Brutus, Calvus, and Cornelius Nepos were not only critics of ability, but distinguished composers themselves. It is, therefore, to be supposed, that what they were at no pains to cōnceal from Cicero, was, in the main, founded in justice; that his fancy sometimes outrun his judgment; and that he sometimes lost sight of that purity and excellence, which he himself has so well described; *Succus ille et sanguis incorruptus eloquentiæ, in quâ naturalis inest, non fucatus nitor.*

(97.) It is possible that the assertion here made may give offence to the admirers of Livy: But I am persuaded that he, who attentively examines the style of that eloquent historian, will discover in it too many of what Petronius calls the *Vibrantes sententiolæ*, and sometimes even ornaments of such a sort, as by no means assimilate with historical composition, *Extra corpus orationis eminent.* Besides, the elliptical quaintness, the smartness of point and turn, which Livy affects, often produce extraordinary obscurity, and may with certainty be referred to the taste of the rhetorical school. There is no writer, who has set this in a clearer point of view, than the author of the Origin and Progress of Language, for which, notwithstanding his Greek prejudices, the lovers of critical learning are under obligations to him. The great peculiarity in the style of Livy seems to be this, that, while his narrative is graceful and flowing, far more so, indeed, than that of either Sallust or Thucydides, he deviates into an abrupt and affected manner in the speeches, of which the very reverse was rather to have been expected. Take, for example, the speech of Junius Brutus, in an assembly of the people, after the fall of Tarquin, when he endeavours to persuade the dethroned prince to go into exile, L. II. 2.; the speech of Mucius Scævola, to Porsenna the Etruscan king, L. II. 2.; the speeches against the Decemvirs, L. III. 52. &c. &c. They are by far too long

Page 270. to be quoted in this place; but, in reading them, we could almost believe, that we had before us some of the quaint Declamations on fictitious subjects, by the rhetoricians Arrelius Fuscus, Cestius Pius, and Porcius Latro, as they are preserved in the writings of the elder Seneca.

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(98.) WHAT Cicero declared of the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar, is perhaps the finest compliment ever paid to any composition. They are, says he, completely beautiful, without even an attempt at decoration; like an elegant statue, of which the symmetry and proportions would be utterly lost, by the addition of dress. *Nudi sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veste, detracto.* De Clar. Orator. LXXV. He, however, immediately adds, that, notwithstanding their extraordinary merit, they are still Commentaries, and not History. They are, indeed, only the materials, from which history might be composed.

For the well-known epithets, bestowed on Xenophon, of the *Attica Apis*, and the *Musa Attica*, See Note 21. anteh.

(99.) DECIPIMUR specie recti. Brevis esse laboro
Obscurus fio: Sectantem lenia, nervi
Deficiunt animique: Professus grandia, turget:
Serpit humi, tutus nimiùm, timidusque procellæ.
Hor. de Art. Poët. 24.

(100.) *EGO sic statuo, nihil esse in ullo genere tam pulchrum, quo non pulchrius id sit, unde illud, ut ex ore aliquo, quasi imago, exprimatur; quod neque oculis, neque auribus, neque ullo sensu percipi potest: Cogitatione tantùm, et mente complectimur.* Orat. ad Brut. II.

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(1.) QUINTILIAN, in speaking of the progress of History among the Greeks and Romans, does not scruple to say, that his own countrymen had rivalled the best efforts of the former. He puts Sallust in competition with Thucydides, and Livy with Herodotus; and mentions *Brevitas, immortalis velocitas,* as the peculiar characteristic of Sallust, and *Lactea ubertas,* as that of Livy. See Inst. Orat. L. X. 1. pp. 734. 750. Edit. Hack.

(2.) THAT Livy is more obscure than is generally believed, has been completely shown, as I have already said, by a late ingenious critic (See Origin and Progress of Language, Vol. V. p. 52. &c.); and the examples he has adduced to prove the fact, are probably sufficient to stumble the greatest admirers of that historian. Quintilian has preserved an anecdote, from the lost writings of Livy, which shows the taste of the times, and gives us some notion of the masters, under whose instruction he must have acquired so vicious a style of writing. Among the Declaimers at Rome, in the time of Augustus, Livy, in a letter, as it is supposed, addressed to his son, celebrates one teacher in particular, who used to recommend to his scholars to *disguise,* or *darken* their meaning as much as possible (σκοτίζε was the Greek word he used to express his idea); thus intending that they should attain the highest possible excellence of style. On one of his scholars, accordingly, who had been successful at his exercise, beyond the rest, he bestowed this incomparable eulogium; *Tantò melior; ne ego quidem intellexi!* Most excellent! says the master; so very good, that I am even unable to understand it *myself! Neque id novum vitium est, cùm jam apud Titum Livium inveniam fuisse præceptorem aliquem, qui discipulos* obscurare *quæ dicerent, juberet, Græco verbo utens σκότισον. Unde illa scilicet egregia laudatio; Tantò melior; ne ego quidem intellexi!* Inst. Orat. L. VIII. 2. p. 578. Edit. Hack.

Page 271. As the subject is curious, I shall mention one or two passages, that are remarkable for their obscurity, taken from the first Decade of Livy's work; and which, had the master of the Declaiming-school had the happiness to see, he would certainly have exulted in them, as admirable efforts of his art. When Mettius, the general of the Albans, addresses Tullus Hostilius, in the interview which took place between them, previous to the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, the first sentence of his speech is uncommonly dark and unintelligible. *Injurias* (says he); *et non redditas res ex foedere, quæ repetitæ sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilium, causam hujusce esse belli, audisse videor: Nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem præ te ferre.* L. I. 23. p. 49. Edit. Elziv. Where mention is made of the appointment of Titus Lartius, the first Dictator, we find another sentence of the same description: *In hâc tantarum expectatione rerum solicitâ civitate, Dictatoris primùm creandi mentio orta; sed nec quo anno, nec quibus Consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniâ essent (id quoque enim traditur), parum creditum sit, nec quis primùm Dictator creatus sit, satis constat.* L. II. 18. p. 146. 147. But one of the most extraordinary passages in all Livy, is that well-known one (L. I. 46.), where he is speaking of the two Tullias, daughters to Servius Tullius, and who had married the two sons of Tarquin. The one was a woman of a fierce, and ungovernable spirit, whose husband was conspicuous for gentleness of disposition; the other a woman of mild, and gentle temper, who had got a husband, that was fierce and turbulent. Of the first-mentioned lady (the *ferox Tullia*), the historian says, that she objected to her husband, because she found nothing about him, that was firm and vigorous *(Nihil materiæ in viro, neque ad cupiditatem, neque ad audaciam esse)*: He then adds, *Spernere sororem, quòd, virum nacta, muliebri cessaret audaciâ.* p. 94. These passages, and several others, have long puzzled the commentators.

A very learned, and ingenious friend of mine once undertook to maintain an opposite proposition to that which is here advanced.

Livy, he asserted, to the commonest apprehension, is never obscure, and Page 271.
can, in no instance, be said to require illustration. To this I answered, that, although perspicuity, in general, is undoubtedly the characteristic of Livy's style, yet he *sometimes* is liable to the charge in question; and that he (my friend) erroneously estimated the occasional obscurity of the historian, not by the perplexed, affected, or elliptical structure of his sentences, but solely by the force of his own perspicacity. In proof of which, I requested that he would take the trouble, as if for the use of a learner, to translate into English the three above-mentioned passages, and as shortly as possible subjoin the order of their construction; which, if it were perfectly clear, could soon be accomplished. The result of this experiment completely answered my expectations. My friend, some time after, put into my hands a paper, consisting of several closely-written 4to pages of illustration, which, without doubt, was most ingenious and instructive, no less than it was elaborate: But he had by this time forgotten, that the whole was drawn up for the express purpose of convincing me, that the Roman author stood in *no* need of being illustrated.

(3.) TACITUS has certainly, in some degree, verified the observation of Horace,

Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.

That he imitated Sallust, and that closely, no unprejudiced person will doubt; and he made bad worse, by copying, and even out-doing his *Amputatæ sententiæ*, his abrupt, and disjointed character of style. What Caligula wittily said of the style of Seneca, that it was "sand without lime" *(Arena sine calce)*, may, with too much justice, be applied to both. There is, however, between them this difference: Tacitus is often obscure, though perhaps never flowing; Sallust is sometimes flowing, yet never dark or unintelligible.

Page 272. Great as the merit of Tacitus is, his radical defect seems to lie in a desire to say the most common things in an uncommon manner (which vice he acquired from the Declaimers), and the making a sort of riddle to exist, where there appears, on investigation, to be nothing at bottom, but plain and ordinary sense. Through this κακοζηλία, as the Greek critics call it, this ill-directed labour, he is apt too highly to adorn the plainest facts: Art appears everywhere too prominent; and the reader's attention is necessarily drawn to the words, from the more important objects of the sense and argument. Vicious as such enigmatical sort of composition is, we yet find it had its admirers, in a declining age of the Roman learning. Quintilian tells us, that there were many persons in his time, to whom it gave great delight; as nothing, they thought, could be expressed with perfect elegance, if the meaning were perspicuous. When properly *veiled*, it became necessary for them to study, before they could understand such composition; but then they had room to applaud their own perspicacity, and were, in some sort, entitled to the honours of invention! *Pervasit, quidem, jam multos istâ persuasio, ut id jam demum eleganter atque exquisitè dictum putent, quod interpretandum sit. Sed auditoribus etiam (aut lectoribus) nonnullis, grata sunt hæc, quæ cùm intellexerint, acumine suo delectantur; et gaudent, non quasi audiverint, sed quasi invenerint.* Inst. Orat. L. VIII. 2. p. 578.

(4.) ALLUDING to the well-known, but important maxim of the Sophists, *Artis est artem celare*, usually attributed to Lysias.

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(5.) *GRANDIS, et, ut ita dicam, pudica oratio, non est maculosa, nec turgida, sed naturali pulchritudine exsurgit.* Petron. Satyric. II. p. 10. 11. Edit. Burman. Such is the notion, which is given of a chaste and correct style, by a writer, who displayed a taste greatly superior to his age. The Commentaries of Julius Cæsar furnish an

excellent example of a style, by which the reader is attracted not primarily to itself, but to the thoughts of the author. In the beautiful Dialogue on the causes of the Decline of Eloquence, or *De Oratoribus*, we have an idea of a good style, which is no less just than ingenious. The author compares it to the symmetry of the human form, which is entirely lost, if the bones be visible, or the muscles protuberant. But, where the pure and temperate blood flows equal through the veins, bracing the limbs with health, and giving to each its full, and just proportion; then it is, says he, that the union of beauty and vigour is complete, and shines conspicuous through the whole. *Oratio, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est, in quâ non eminent venæ, nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra, et exsurgit toris, ipsosque nervos robur tegit, et decor commendat.* Sect. XXI. Page 274.

(6.) ALLUDING to the well-known description of Horace;

> Incoeptis gravibus plerumque, et magna professis,
> Purpureus, latè qui splendeat, unus et alter
> Adsuitur pannus, &c. . . . . .
> Sed nunc non erat his locus.
>
> De Art. Poët. 14.

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(7.) ALTHOUGH I cannot possibly agree with a late ingenious critic, Lord Monboddo, in condemning the reflections, which our modern historians have substituted for the antient rhetorical department of their work (See Note 67. anteh.), or think that those reflections "stick out," as he calls it, and form an awkward part of the composition *(Extra corpus orationis eminent)*; yet I most heartily join issue with him, in thinking that their style sometimes improperly displays both "the figures of poetry, and the froth of rhetoric." The very elaborate, and elegant history of Mr Gibbon certainly affords a remarkable example of a departure from the principle, which is incul-

Page 275. cated in the text. In his four first volumes, the narrative may be said, in general, to be perspicuous; but, in the two last, it is so completely embarrassed, and, so to speak, overlaid with the reflections, as entirely to disappear from the view. Instead of a regular, and connected relation, for example, of the transactions of Mahomet, which the reader is taught to expect, he often finds himself perusing only a florid *essay* on the reign of that impostor. Perhaps Mr Hume has given the most perfect model of what Philosophical History truly ought to be, without suffering the speculatist to transcend his province, and take precedency of the historian.

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(8.) DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS was an accomplished orator of Athens, and the scholar of Theophrastus. He flourished about 300 years before the Christian æra; and, by means of his eloquence, and the purity of his manners, obtained such influence over his countrymen, that he governed them absolutely for the space of ten years. See Diog. Laërt. in Vit. Of that bright constellation of orators, which Athens produced, he was, in the opinion of Cicero, by far the most learned. His education had been that of a philosopher, not of a statesman, or a soldier; and, when he spoke, he was calculated to delight, more than to inflame the minds of his hearers. The fact is, he entered upon the stage of public life, from the school of Theophrastus, and the shade of the Lyceum, not from the noise of the Forum, or the discipline of the camp. With all his merit, however, this eminent man was the first corruptor of real eloquence, by substituting the soft arts of insinuation, for the fire and energy of former genius. He preferred artificial sweetness to weight or dignity; and it was rather his aim to persuade and to captivate, by the charms of the one, than to astonish or command, by the strength of the other. *Phalereus enim eruditissimus quidem horum omnium, sed non tam armis institutus quàm palæstrâ. Itaque delectabat magis Athe-*

nienses, quàm inflammabat: Processerat enim in solem et pulverem, Page 275. *non ut è militari tabernaculo, sed ut è Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis. Hic primus inflexit orationem, et eam mollem, teneramque reddidit: Et suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit, quàm gravis; sed suavitate eâ, quâ perfunderet animos, non quâ perfringeret.* De Clar. Orator. IX. Diogenes Laërtius also bears testimony to his profound learning, and to the great variety, and number of his writings. Πλήθει δὲ βιβλίων καὶ ἀριθμῷ στίχων σχεδὸν ἅπαντας παρελήλακε τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν Περιπατητικούς, εὐπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ πολύπειρος παρ' ὁντινοῦν. In Vit. Demet. L. V. 80. His works on history and politics, poetry and rhetoric, are now lost; and some doubts are entertained whether the treatise Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, which passes under his name, ever proceeded from his pen.

(9.) Cicero, in whose writings are to be found the best ideas on every subject, connected with taste or criticism, in speaking of different kinds of style, describes one species in particular, in terms that depict, with such singular felicity, that of this splendid historian, that we might suppose, were it possible, that Mr Gibbon himself had sat for the picture. *Est enim quoddam etiam insigne, et florens orationis, pictum et expolitum genus, in quo omnes verborum, omnes sententiarum, illigantur lepores.* And he immediately adds what may, with equal justice, be said of both the origin, and the fate of such a style. *Hoc totum è sophistarum fontibus defluxit; sed spretum à subtilibus, repulsum à gravibus, in eâ, de quâ loquor, mediocritate consedit.* Orat. ad Brut. XXVII. Possibly the latter clause of this quotation may be too harsh, as applied to Mr Gibbon; for it is by no means my wish, in any thing that is here said, either in the Text, or the Notes, to depreciate the character, or underrate the merit of that extraordinary man. I would applaud, as zealously as his warmest admirers, the elegance of his genius, and the variety and extent of his learning. I would even assert, that there are perhaps to be

Page 275. found, in his great work, more frequent examples of splendid eloquence, than in any other book, whether antient or modern. It is only to be lamented, that he did not always draw after the purest models; that his judgment was too often misled by his imagination; and that, with talents so rare as those he possessed, he insidiously laboured to undermine the religion of his country. From this reproach, likewise, his precursor Mr Hume is not exempt. It fixes an indelible stain upon the fame of both, and fairly outweighs all their literary merit. The work of Mr Gibbon, in particular, cannot be recommended to the perusal of the young student, until both his principles and his taste have been confirmed, under sounder masters.

(10.) Mr Gibbon, in the formation of his manner, has certainly fallen into what Seneca calls the *Dulcia vitia*, the seductive errours in composition, into which Seneca himself so remarkably fell, and the same that were observed, by the judicious Quintilian, in the rhetoricians, and fashionable writers of his time, under the names of *Amoenitas*, *Nitor*, and *Lætitia styli*, and of which he earnestly advises the young student to beware. The caution, that in another place he gives, to preserve a medium between the avoidance of these, and an undue partiality for the elder writers, is at once so important, and happily expressed, that I shall subjoin the passage. "There are," he says, "two rocks, on which youth may split. The first is, that, being led by some fond admirer of antiquity, they may set too high a value on the manner of Cato, and the Gracchi, and other authors of that day; for, in such a commerce, they will be in danger of growing dry, harsh, and rugged. The strong conception of those men will be beyond the reach of their tender minds. Their style, indeed, which at the time was excellent, may be copied; and the youth may flatter himself, when he has contracted the rust of antiquity, that he resembles the illustrious orators of a former age. On the other hand, the florid decorations, and the false glitter of the moderns, may have a secret charm, the more dangerous and se-

ductive, as the petty flourishes of our new way of writing may prove acceptable to the youthful mind *." *Duo autem genera maximè cavenda pueris puto: Unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum, Catonisque, et aliorum similium lectione, durescere velit. Fient enim horridi atque jejuni. Nam neque vim eorum adhuc intellectu consequerentur; et elocutione, quæ tum sine dubio erat optima, sed nostris temporibus aliena, contenti, quod est pessimum, similes sibi magnis viris videbuntur. Alterum, quod huic diversum est, ne recentis hujus lasciviæ flosculis capti, voluptate quâdam pravâ deliniantur, ut prædulce illud genus, et puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quò propius est, adament.* Inst. Orator. L. II. 5. p. 127. Edit. Hack. These are judicious maxims; and, *mutatis mutandis*, they may be applied to all languages. Page 275.

What Quintilian here calls "the new way of writing" (*Prædulce illud genus*), and which gave the fatal blow to manly eloquence at Rome, originated with Senèca. His talents, which certainly were great, were of a peculiar cast, acute, refined, and polished; but polished to a degree, that made him prefer, like our own Gibbon, affectation and wit, to truth and nature. He possessed a genius, says Tacitus (who was himself seduced by the same faults), admirably suited to the taste of his age; *Ingenium amoenum, et temporis ejus auribus accommodatum.*

Quintilian was his contemporary. He saw and admired the man; yet he was constrained, by his own better taste, to pronounce judgment against him. In the 10th book of his Institutes, after giving an admirable account of the writers of both Greece and Rome, he says, that "He purposely reserved for Seneca the last place; because, having always endeavoured to counteract the influence of a bad taste, he was supposed to be swayed by motives of personal enmity. But

* This excellent translation is Mr Murphy's. See his Tacitus, in Notes on the Dialogue concerning Oratory, pp. 531. 532.

Page 275. the case was otherwise. He saw that Seneca was the favourite of the times; and, in order to check the torrent, that threatened the ruin of all true eloquence, he exerted his best endeavours to diffuse a sounder judgment. He did not wish that Seneca should be laid aside; but he could not, in silence, see him preferred to the authors of the Augustan age, whom that writer endeavoured to depreciate; conscious that, having chosen a different style, he could not hope to please the taste of those, who were charmed with the authors of a former day. But Seneca was still in fashion: His partizans continued to admire, though it cannot be said that they imitated him. He fell short of the antients; and they were still more beneath their model. Since they were content to copy, it were to be wished that they had been able to vie with him. He pleased by his defects; and the herd of imitators chose the worst. They acquired a vicious manner, and then flattered themselves that they resembled their master: But the truth is, they disgraced him.

"Seneca, it must be allowed, had many excellent qualities; a lively imagination, vast erudition, and extensive knowledge. He frequently employed others to make researches for him, and was often deceived. He embraced all subjects; in his philosophy not always profound; but a keen censor of the manners, and on moral subjects truly admirable. He has brilliant passages, and beautiful sentiments; but the expression is in a false taste, the more dangerous, that he abounds with delightful vices. You would have wished that he had written with his own imagination, and the judgment of others. To sum up his character: Had he known how to rate little things; had he been above the petty ambition of always shining; had he not been too fond of himself; had he not weakened his force by minute, and dazzling sentences, he would have gained, not the admiration of boys, but the suffrage of the judicious. At present, he may be read with safety by those, who have made an acquaintance with better models. His works afford the fairest opportunity of distinguishing the beauties of

fine writing, from their opposite vices. He has much to be approved, and even admired: But a just selection is necessary; and it is to be regretted, that he did not chuse for himself." *Ex industriâ Senecam, in omni genere eloquentiæ versatum, distuli, propter vulgatam falsò de me opinionem, quâ damnare eum, et invisum quoque habere sum creditus. Quod accidit mihi, dum corruptum, et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad severiora judicia contendo. Tum autem solus hic ferè in manibus adolescentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, sed potioribus præferri non sinebam, quos ille non destiterat incessere, cùm, diversi sibi conscius generis, placere se in dicendo posse iis, quibus illi placerent, diffideret. Amabant eum autem magìs, quàm imitabantur; tantùmque ab illo defluebant, quantùm ille ab antiquis descenderat. Foret enim optandum pares, aut saltem proximos, illo viro fieri. Sed placebat propter sola vitia; et ad ea se quisque dirigebat effingenda, quæ poterat; deinde, cùm se jactaret eodem modo dicere, Senecam infamabat. Cujus et multæ alioqui, et magnæ virtutes fuerunt; ingenium facile et copiosum; plurimum studii; multarum rerum cognitio; in quâ tamen aliquando ab iis, quibus inquirenda quædam mandabat, deceptus est. Tractavit etiam omnem ferè studiorum materiam; in philosophiâ parùm diligens; egregius tamen vitiorum insectator fuit. Multæ in eo claræque sententiæ; multa enim morum gratiâ legenda; sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eò perniciosissima, quòd abundant dulcibus vitiis. Velles eum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno judicio. Nam si aliqua contempsisset; si parum concupisset; si non omnia sua amâsset: si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potiùs eruditorum, quàm puerorum amore, comprobaretur. Verùm sic quoque jam robustis, et severiore genere satìs firmatis, legendus, vel ideo, quòd exercere potest utriusque judicium. Multa enim, ut dixi, probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt; eligere modò curæ sit, quod utinam ipse fecisset.* Inst. Orator. L. X. 1. pp. 755. 756. Edit. Hack. The above masterly translation is from the pen of Mr Murphy (See his Tacitus, Vol. IV. pp. 548—550.); and Page 275.

Page 275. it were to be wished, that we had a version of the entire work of Quintilian, executed with the same spirit and judgment.

"From hence it is evident (says this judicious critic), that Seneca, even in the meridian of his fame and power, was considered as the grand corrupter of eloquence. Rollin, who had nourished his mind with antient literature, and was, in his time, the Quintilian of France, has given the same opinion of Seneca; who, he says, knew how to play the critic on the works of others, and to condemn the strained metaphor, the forced conceit, the tinsel sentence, and all the blemishes of a corrupt style, without desiring to weed them out of his own productions. In a Letter to his friend (Epist. CXIV.), Seneca admits a general depravity of taste; and, with great acuteness, and, indeed, elegance, traces it to its source, in the luxury, and effeminate manners of the age. He compares the florid orators of his time to a set of young fops, well powdered and perfumed, just issuing from their toilette; *Barbâ et comâ nitidos, de capsulâ totos.* He adds, that such affected finery is not the true ornament of a man: *Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas.* And yet, says Rollin, he did not know that he was sitting to himself for the picture! He aimed for ever at something new, far-fetched, ingenious, and pointed. He preferred wit to truth, and dignified simplicity. The marvellous was, with him, better than the natural; and he chose to surprise and dazzle, rather than merit the approbation of sober judgment. His talents placed him at the head of the fashion at Rome; and, with those enchanting vices, which Quintilian ascribes to him, he was, no doubt, the person, who contributed the most, towards the corruption of taste and eloquence. See Belles Lettres, Tom. I. Sur le Gout."

The Abbé Gedoyn, another eminent critic, who has produced an excellent translation of Quintilian, goes still further; tracing the decline of the Roman taste up to Ovid, who, he maintains (in his Prefatory Discourse), began to corrupt it, even in the Augustan age. However that may be, it had certainly been fortunate, since Gibbon

was to draw after the French writers, if he had selected, as his models, such men as Rollin and Gedoyn, instead of Montesquieu, and other imitators of Tacitus. Gibbon's exuberance, like Ovid's, knew no bounds. *Nescivit quod bene cessit relinquere*, as Seneca well expresses it (although that very exuberance was his own errour): Accordingly we find the historian, in the two last Volumes of his Roman Empire, almost forgetting the style and character of narrative, and delivering, as I have already said, something that rather resembles an *essay* on the transactions and events, which he had undertaken to describe. Page 276.

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(11.) This apothegm of Solon was, Τὸν λόγον εἴδωλον εἶναι τῶν ἔργων, *Sermonem imaginem factorum esse:* And Plato said, much to the same purpose, Οἷος ὁ λόγος, τοιοῦτος ὁ τρόπος, *Qualis oratio, talis vita.* Seneca, in one of his Epistles, has treated the subject with his usual ingenuity. His doctrine is, like the one here maintained, that the composition of all nations receives its tone and character from the complexion of the public manners; and how much these are formed and moulded according to political institutions, it is needless to say. *Quemadmodum uniuscujusque actio* (says he) *dicenti similis est, sic genus dicendi imitatur publicos mores. Si disciplina civitatis laboravit, et se in delicias dedit, argumentum est luxuriæ publicæ orationis lascivia; si modò non in uno aut in altero fuit, sed approbata est, et recepta. Non potest alius esse ingenio, alius animo color.* See the whole Epistle, L. XX. 114.

The history of all nations evinces, that there is an inseparable connection between the morals of a people, and their public prosperity; and hence, it has been rashly concluded, because the inhabitants of Britain are powerful and luxurious, in consequence of their commerce, that, for that reason, their morals, together with their literary taste, and manly character, must inevitably decline. If we

Page 276. look to former periods, it will not appear that any such conclusion is deducible from facts. The only antient nation, whose habits and genius seem greatly analogous to our own, are the Carthaginians, who, notwithstanding the classical prejudices, which we early imbibe against them, were a great people. Their extraordinary industry, their unrivalled commerce, their extended territory, their spirit and valour, and, above all, the *mixed* form of their government, give ground for the comparison. Did the Romans, then, find, because the Carthaginians were a commercial, and a luxurious people, that they betrayed, in their conduct, effeminacy or want of vigour? On the contrary, we see, that the wisdom, the courage, and the firmness of Carthage, had, more than once, nearly annihilated the Roman power: And, even at last, when she was betrayed by Punic arts, more base and disingenuous than she had ever practised, she seemed, in her fall, at least as great as her perfidious conquerors; although they have been careful, in their accounts, to depreciate her virtues, as well as to aggravate her vices.

The causes which counteracted, among the Carthaginians, the pernicious effects of luxury and wealth, were nearly the same that now operate among ourselves, namely, the habits of industry, by which their commerce was supported, and the political freedom, by which their vigour was secured; both resulting from a government, where the Prince, the Nobles, and the People, had each a share: And I hesitate not to affirm, that the same causes, wheresoever operating, will uniformly be productive of the same effects. Of the British character it is almost unnecessary to add, that, whether in peace or war, while it has displayed the virtues, it has been with a complete exemption from the memorable vice, the *Punica fides* of this antient people.

Perhaps it might be a speculation neither useless nor uninteresting, to institute a regular comparison between the British and the Carthaginians, and to trace the analogy, both moral and political, which subsists between their genius. The military accounts, we know, concern-

ing the latter, are extremely partial, and, concerning their internal polity, no less incidental and imperfect; yet I am persuaded, that the points of resemblance would be found considerably more numerous, than they at first sight appear. Page 276.

Of the ruin of the Carthaginian power I cannot help remarking, that modern historians are too apt to view it with the same partial eyes, as the antient writers, discovering only, in that melancholy event, the conquest of a powerful people, overborne by the arms, and the fortune of the Romans. Yet it should far rather be regarded as a general calamity to mankind; as the depression of commerce and cultivation, by the hand of military despotism. Let us, for a moment, suppose the case to have been reversed, and the probable consequences will excite some curious reflection. Had Carthage, at the close of the third Punic War, become mistress of the world, and Rome, like her, been razed to the foundation, what an effect would have been produced in accelerating the progress of the human mind, under the mild influence of commerce and the arts! Instructed, as the Carthaginians unquestionably were, in the knowledge and arts of Greece, it is no very improbable supposition, that Europe, at this moment, would be some *centuries* more forward in civilization and science. The use of the magnet, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and also of America, which finally wrought such momentous changes, would probably have been brought about earlier by many ages, and have given full employment to that spirit of industry and enterprize, which distinguished the colonies of antient Tyre. Commerce, by gradually improving the condition, and promoting the intercourse of nations, from the pole to the equator, could alone have prevented the triumph of barbarism over the more cultivated parts of the globe, and the long night of ignorance, which consequently ensued; while the arts, the inventions, and the knowledge of the antients, instead of being buried under the ruins of Rome, would have been transmitted unimpaired to modern nations.

Page 277. For notices concerning the history of Carthage, the young student is referred to the writings of Cornelius Nepos, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, Appian, Valerius Maximus, Aurelius Victor, and, above all, to the accounts of Polybius and Livy.

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(12.) By many the whole of this will be considered as a fanciful speculation: I hold it to be the sober deduction of reason from experience. The doctrine, however, will be admitted to have, at least, a useful tendency. It may teach us to set a higher value on both our liberty and our learning; and, while we ardently cherish the one, and cultivate the other, we shall do our endeavour to perpetuate that inestimable Constitution, to which we are indebted for the continuance of both.

The example of all nations seems to confirm the fact, that literature and the arts uniformly decline under despotic power. Cicero, who witnessed the first dawnings only of such a government at Rome, has a fine passage on the sort of debasement and depression, which the loss of liberty, and political usefulness, is apt to occasion in a liberal mind. Speaking of the great Scipio's well known saying, *Nunquam se minùs otiosum esse, quàm cùm otiosus, nec minùs solum, quàm cùm solus esset;* he observes, what a striking difference there appeared, between his own rustication, as it might be called, when he betook himself to the country, under the domination of Cæsar, and the dignified retirement of this extraordinary man. The conqueror of Carthage withdrew, in an age of virtue and freedom, to the shade of solitude, from the weight of affairs, and the eyes of men; entering, as it were, by that act, into a haven of calm, and delicious enjoyment. With me, alas! says he, the case is widely different. My retreat is involuntary; and, as all public business is now at an end, it is the vacuity of idleness, and not the desire of an honourable

repose. *Sed nec otium hoc cum Africani otio, nec hæc solitudo cum illâ comparanda est. Ille enim, requiescens à reipublicæ pulcherrimis muneribus, otium sibi sumebat aliquando, et à coetu hominum frequentiâque interdum, tanquam in portum, se in solitudinem recipiebat: Nostrum, autem, otium negotii inopiâ, non requiescendi studio, constitutum est.* De Offic. L. III. 1. Page 278.

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(13.) THAT such is the general state of literature among our continental neighbours, I am sorry to observe; although, like other things, it admits of honourable, and valuable exceptions. In regard to France, the condition of barbarity and Vandalism, into which an awful Revolution had plunged her, seems now not greatly to be improved under the rod of despotism; and nearly the same thing may be said of other countries, once independent, but which are now her tributary, and degraded vassals.

The learning of Germany must ever be respectable. Yet, of late years, since the flood-gates of corruption have been opened into it from a neighbouring country, it appears to have degenerated from its manly character. In the lighter productions, which find their way most easily from home, a style quaint and effeminate is the first thing that strikes us, such nearly as prevailed, in the declining periods of Greek and Roman taste. When more narrowly examined, we perceive that their object usually is, to confound right and wrong, to conceal, under the exteriours of an attractive dress, the substitution of feeling for principle, and a specious preference of what is called the dictates of nature, to the unalterable sanctions of religion and virtue. Where facts are notorious, it would be idle to adduce a multitude of examples. What else is to be drawn from Tales of Terrour, from pathetic Novels, and impassioned Dramas? The soil that could produce a Göethe, or a Kotzebue, will not be said to have qualities very

Page 278. favourable to the growth of *moral taste*. While it must readily be acknowledged, that a deficiency of talents or genius is not among the faults of these popular writers, there is no hazard in asserting, that it is genius and talents uninfluenced by principle, and, if they are diligently exerted, they are as unhappily and perniciously employed.

Whenever any thing is done amiss, it is curious to see how anxious the culpable party always is to lay the blame at the door of others. A correspondent of mine in Germany, one of the most eminent men in that country, whether for talents or erudition, in a late letter concerning the writers of his nation, candidly admits the pernicious tendency of Kotzebue's compositions; but he complacently assures me, that Kotzebue never was accounted a great writer at home, nor ever so much admired in Germany, as in London and Paris; and for this plain reason, he says, that *there* there are no such "sinks of depravity" to be found, as in those dissipated capitals. That the general state of manners in Britain is far more pure than in France, Germany, or Italy, is a fact well known to those, who are best acquainted with all the countries in question. Every one, who has travelled from this island to the Continent, can tell, how much his moral feelings have been shocked, by licentiousness in the latter; and it would be almost as unjust to compare its manners with the manners of Britain, as to compare those of Britain with the purity of the golden age. It is true, wheresoever the greatest number of men are assembled together, there corruption, in certain classes, will be generally carried to the greatest height. It is also true, that the impassioned scenes, and beautiful sentiments of Kotzebue's dramas, have, in the theatres of our capital, been often warmly applauded, while the unsoundness of the moral has escaped from the view. He, however, judges erroneously indeed concerning British principles, who measures them by the levity, and ever-varying caprice of a London audience. We may speak it with truth, as well as confidence, that the depravity

of certain ranks, in our overgrown metropolis, has produced but an inconsiderable effect on the great mass of the community, which is as yet sound and uncorrupted. Of this the causes are, in a great measure, to be traced to the nature of our excellent Constitution, although they are too various and complicated for investigation in this place: But, in proof of the fact above mentioned, it may be observed, that the scope and tendency of Kotzebue's writings have here been condemned, by every person of reflection; a circumstance which, we know, can be no secret in Germany, where our PERIODICAL REVIEWS, uniformly adhering to such a sentiment, are read and admired, and justly considered as the organs, not less than the guides, of the public taste. Page 278.

Let it not be imagined, from what is here said of the lighter productions, that I mean to underrate the more solid parts of German learning. I well know, and as highly respect, the genius and talents of that nation; its profound erudition; its indefatigable industry; and the eminent degree, in which it has extended the limits of science, as well as of literature. Neither is it intended, by the general language of my text, to deny the merit of the German Historians. We pay a willing tribute of praise to Müller (esteemed, in style and manner, the Sallust of his country), for his history of Switzerland, which has been copied by Planta; to Schiller, for that of the Thirty-years war, and of the Revolt of the Netherlands; to Schmidt and Heinrich *, for their histories of Germany; to Spittler, for his account of Hanover and Würtemberg; and, though last, not least in this enumeration, to Professor Ebeling of Hamburg, for his excellent Geographical, and Statistical history of North America, a work which is not

* It is a singular coincidence that this writer, should have both resembled in name, and adopted the plan of our Henry. He is a Professor in the University of Jena, and his work came out at Leipzig, in 1787, in Ten Volumes, 8vo. It is said that he is now employed on a similar History of France.

Page 278. yet finished. As the most of these, like our Henry, may be called learned, and judicious compilers (properly *prüfende, forschende* Schriftsteller), rather than elegant, and philosophical historians; still I must be permitted to say, that the moral, as well as literary taste, which prevails among the Germans, is unpropitious to superior excellence in the department of History. This is what I have ventured to call, in general, "a sickly state of learning;" and I own, that I anxiously deprecate its spreading among my countrymen.—On the subject of the German historians, it is but just to remark, that, as they excel those of all other nations in the arrangement of materials, and the expiscation of facts, it were to be wished that the attention of our Translators were turned to them; for presents more useful, could scarcely be made to the British public, than many of their compositions.

Should these pages ever reach Germany, I well know what a host of enemies they will raise up against me. In point of credulity and misconception, I shall be called no better than Professor Robison of Edinburgh. Like that great man, I shall be said to look on other nations with Antijacobin eyes, and English prejudices. To such a charge my only answer is, that, in regard to the first-mentioned epithet, I must consider any sentiment, or work of mine, as honoured by its application; and as to English prejudices, I may be suffered to indulge in them, while, in fine composition, they lead me to prefer the great models of antiquity, to any effort of modern genius.

(14.) I THINK we are somewhat warranted in forming this expectation, from a candid comparison of the compositions of the present period, with those of every other that has preceded it. Whoever is desirous of seeing a pretty fair estimate of the improvements, which have been made in English composition, since the days of Hooker and Raleigh, of Swift and Addison, will find the subject accurately treated, in one of the papers of Godwin's Enquirer, entitled an Essay on "English Style." Whatever may be thought of Mr Godwin, as

a philosopher (a subject on which, probably, there is but one opinion), he appears here to great advantage, as a philologist, and a critic. He has very diligently appreciated the merits of late, and former writers, and illustrated his doctrine with pertinent examples. It is but justice to add, that both neatness and vigour are displayed in his own style in this Essay. It has precision and accuracy, without the appearance of labour, and considerable elegance, without affectation. Page 279. 280.

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(15.) Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum
Virgilio Varioque?

De Art. Poët. 53.

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(16.) *Nam cùm sint eorum alia, ut dicit Cicero, nativa, id est, quæ significata sunt primo sensu; alia reperta, quæ ex his facta sunt, ut jam nobis ponere alia quàm quæ illi rudi homines primique fecerunt, fas non sit: At derivare, flectere, conjungere, quod natis postea concessum est, quando desiit licere?* Quintil. Inst. Orat. L. VIII. 3. pp. 587. 588.—Cic. de Orat. L. II.—Partit. Orat. V.

(17.) Quintilian, in treating the subject, seems fully aware of the evils that might result, from giving a licence to invention, and therefore cautions the student against indiscriminately venturing on words, which use has not authorized. However, we should not, he says, by the utter rejection of new words, affect the captiousness of criticism, and be unjust to ourselves; because, instead of adding to the purity, we should thus only help to perpetuate the poverty of our speech. He, therefore, agrees with Cicero, in approving of the practice in question, whenever circumstances require it, and trusts (as has been said in the text) to the influence of habit, and of time. *Usitatis tutiùs utimur; nova non sine quodam periculo fingimus. . . Quæ*

Page 280. *tamen cur tantò aspernemur nihil video, nisi quòd iniqui judices adversus nos sumus, ideoque paupertate sermonis laboramus. . . Audendum itaque; nam, ut Cicero ait, etiam quæ primò dura visa sunt, usu molliuntur.* Inst. Orat. L. I. 5. VIII. 3. pp. 55. 587.—Cic. de Nat. Deor. XXXIV. Use, without doubt, is the sovereign arbiter of language *(Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi)*: And use will, in spite of the fastidiousness of any age, certainly sanction the endeavours of genius. He, then, who truly possesses it, need not scruple, even in these cultivated times, to follow the direction of the poet, and

> Command old words, that long have slept, to wake;
> Words that wise Bacon, or brave Raleigh spake:
> Or bid the *new* be English, ages hence:
> For use will father what's begot by sense.

The whole of the doctrine here maintained, is the same as that laid down by Horace, in his Epistle to the Pisos. His concise, characteristic, and apt illustration of it I shall beg leave to present to the reader; adding, for the use of the English student, the version of Francis, although it possesses little of the ease, and none of the terseness, of the original.

> Si fortè necesse est
> Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
> Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cathegis
> Continget; dabiturque licentia, sumpta pudenter;
> Et nova, factaque nuper, habebunt verba fidem, si
> Græco fonte cadant, parcè detorta. Quid autem?
> Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum
> Virgilio Varioque? Ego cur acquirere pauca,
> Si possum, invideor; cùm lingua Catonis et Ennî
> Sermonem patriam ditaverit, et nova rerum
> Nomina protulerit? Licuit, semperque licebit
> Signatum præsente notâ producere nomen.
> Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos;

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Prima cadunt: Ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et juvenum ritu florent modò nata, vigentque.
. . . . . Mortalia facta peribunt;
Nedum sermonum stet honos, et gratia vivax.
Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere; cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus, et norma loquendi.

De Art. Poët. 48—72.

A new-discovered theme
For those, unheard in antient times, may claim
A just and ample licence, which, if us'd
With fair discretion, never is refus'd.
New words, and lately made, shall credit claim,
If from a Grecian source they gently stream;
For Virgil, sure, and Varius may receive
That kind indulgence, which the Romans give
To Plautus and Cæcilius: Or shall I
Be envied; if my little fund supply
Its frugal wealth of words; since bards, who sung
In antient days, enriched their native tongue
With large increase? An undisputed power
Of coining money from the rugged ore,
Nor less of coining words, is still confess'd,
If with a legal, public stamp impress'd.
As when the forest, with the bending year,
First sheds the leaves, that earliest appear;
So an old race of words maturely dies,
And some new-born in youth and vigour rise. . .
All things must perish; and shall words presume
To hold their honours, and immortal bloom?
Many shall rise, that now forgotten lie;
Others, in present credit, soon shall die,
If Custom will, whose arbitrary sway
Words, and the forms of language must obey,

Vol. IV. pp. 219. 221.

Page 280. For other remarks on the subject both of reviving old words, and inventing new, See above, pp. 267. 268. and Notes.

(18.) Cic. de Nat. Deor. XXXIV.—Hor. de Art. Poët. ubi sup. Epist. L. II. 2. v. 115.—Dionys. Halicarn. Epist. ad Pomp. p. 127. Tom. II. Edit. Sylburg.—Quintil. Inst. Orat. L. I. 5. VIII. 3. pp. 55. 587.—See also the authorities, which have been quoted in Notes 85. 86. and 87. anteh.

(19.) In the age of Aulus Gellius, and long before his time, this had completely taken place. The elegance of Sallust's style, says he, its eloquence, and purity *(Proprietatum enim in verbis retinentissimus)*, notwithstanding the novelty of some of his expressions, soon raised him to the highest rank, as a standard authority, among the Roman critics. His adversaries, he adds, though some of them were men of distinguished name, certainly displayed more malignity than learning, greater captiòusness than solid judgment. *Elegantia orationis Sallustii, verborumque facundia, et novandi studium, cum multâ prorsus invidiâ fuit; multique non mediocri ingenio viri conati sunt reprehendere pleraque, et obtrectare: In quibus plura inscitè aut malignè vellicant.* L. IV. 15. L. X. 20. His best known, and most determined enemy was his contemporary Asinius Pollio, to whom Aulus Gellius particularly alludes, and whose virulence seems to have sprung from literary jealousy. Pollio himself aspired to the character of an historian; and he envied the fame, without being able to attain the success of his rival. See Sueton. de Clar. Grammat. X. —Sen. Suasor. VI. He had published, as has been already said (in Note 40. on p. 14. Essay First), some Critical Letters on the works of Sallust, addressed to Plancus; a production, which seems to have been every way worthy of the vanity and dogmatism of the author; at least, if we may judge from the curious specimen of it preserved

by Aulus Gellius, who sets forth its captiousness and futility. See Noct. Alt. L. X. 26. Page 281.

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(20.) *Si quis Falerno vino delectetur, sed eo nec ita novo, ut proximis Consulibus natum velit, nec rursus ita vetere, ut Opimium, aut Anicium Consulem quærat: Atqui eæ notæ sunt optimæ . . Sic ego istis sensuerim, et novam istam, quasi de musto ac lacu fervidam orationem, fugiendam; nec illam præclaram Thucydidi nimis veterem, tanquam Anicianam notam, persequendam.* De Clar. Orator. LXXXIII.

(21.) Augustus, who is supposed to have been no mean judge of composition, was evidently of opinion, that Sallust had carried to excess his use of antient phraseology. What sort of style, says he (in writing to his friend Mark Antony), am I next to expect from you? Are you to puzzle me with old words, like those which Sallust took from Cato the Censor; or am I to be over-whelmed with a torrent of frothy and unmeaning periods, copied for the purpose, from the orators of Asia? *Tuque dubitas, Cimberne Annius, an Veranius Flaccus imitandi sint tibi? Ita ut verbis, quæ Crispus Sallustius excerpsit ex Originibus Catonis, utaris; an potiùs Asiaticorum oratorum inanibus sententiis, verborum volubilitas in nostrum sermonem transferenda?* August. Epist. ap. Sueton. in August. LXXXVI. This was what the Emperor used to call *Molestè scribere:* But, on this occasion, he spoke of Sallust's style with the natural prejudice of a contemporary, although he preferred it to the turgid, and effeminate mode of writing, which was then coming into vogue. From Aulus Gellius, however, who has preserved many passages from the lost writings of the historian, we learn, that he frequently did violence to existing modes of speech. See a remarkable example in L. XVIII. 4. What followed was in the natural course

Page 281. of things. If he excited the opposition of contemporary critics, he obtained the suffrage of posterity.

(22.) *Non verba rebus aptavit, sed res extrinsecùs arcessit, quibus hæc verba conveniant.* Inst. Orat. L. VIII. 3. On this head, we must admit that Sallust is liable to the charge of affectation. The matter, on all occasions, must be regarded as the chief part of composition; the words are only the dress, in which it is clothed. Whatsoever be the subject, whether high or low, grave or colloquial, there must be *sense* in the composition; for the want of which no ornament of words is able to compensate. Of this indispensable requisite, it cannot be said that there is any deficiency in the writings of Sallust, who would have agreed with Cicero in the sentiment, *Nihil esse tam furiosum, quàm verborum, vel optimorum, inanis sonitus, nullâ subjectâ sententiâ, aut scientiâ.*

Sir John Cheke (the instructor of the celebrated Roger Ascham, preceptor to Queen Elizabeth, whose opinions I shall afterwards take occasion to examine) seems to have had the above passage from Quintilian in his eye, when he characterized Sallust's manner. "Ve-"rie," said he, "in his writing is more arte than nature, and more "labor than arte; and in his labor, also, to moch toyle; as it were an "uncontented care to *write better than he could*, a fault common to ve-"rie many men." This is, perhaps, the very best thing, that ever has been said on the style of the historian; and had Sir John Cheke stopped here, we might have given him the praise of acute and judicious criticism. But, not content with noticing the fact, with a felicity that seldom has been equalled, he enters also into an examination of its causes; an attempt in which he betrays a weakness, scarcely to have been expected from such a scholar.

The cause, he says, why the style of Cæsar or Cicero differs so widely from that of Sallust, although they flourished in the same period, is, 1st; That they were much accustomed to speak before the

people at Rome, and therefore used the style of language most currently understood.—So far, perhaps, this is right, and the observation is not unfounded. 2dly, he observes, That Sallust, having been appointed, by Cæsar, Prætor in Numidia, was, by that means, "absent from his contrie, and not inured to the common talke of Rome." In this situation, therefore, and "shut up in his studie," he composed his works, and, thus, the unnatural character of his style is to be accounted for! In the same manner, adds Sir John, "Thucydides "wrote his storie, not at home in Greece, but abroad in Italie; and, "therefore, it smelleth of a certaine outlandish kinde of talke, strange "to them of Athens." See Ascham's Works, p. 343. Edit. Bennet. Now, without stopping to prove that the style of Thucydides, instead of being "outlandish," is most truly Attic, though peculiar in its structure, and not adapted to the Forum, or to show that he wrote his history in Thrace, in the island of Ægina, or among the Lacedæmonians, and not in Italy at all; we may be permitted to admire the slender powers of memory, which this learned scholar is pleased to allow to Sallust, who, in the course of *a year* (the duration of his African government), must entirely have forgotten the popular phraseology of his native tongue! What he denies to him, however, in memory, he most amply makes up in rapidity of composition: For, by the same hypothesis, the works of the historian, which most men think him diligent in taking only about *nine years* to produce, he must, according to Sir John Cheke, have fairly dispatched *within a twelvemonth*, and governed and plundered the province of Africa besides! Page 281.

Strange as all this may appear, as proceeding from a man of learning, it is still more extraordinary, that it should be gravely repeated, and as piously believed, by another learned man, namely, Lord Monboddo, who was probably as good a scholar, and certainly a better critic, than the respectable "instructor of the preceptor of Queen Elizabeth." But both the instructor and preceptor had done enough.

Page 282. —286. and more than enough, to gain the heart, and secure the confidence of the learned Judge, by the consummate contempt, which they both express for *the writers of Rome*, when compared with their masters the *Greeks*. "Now," says Ascham, "let Italian, and Latin itself, "Spanishe, French, Douch, and Englishe, bring forth their learning, "and recite their authors, Cicero onlie excepted, and one or two "moe in Latin, they be all patched up cloutes and ragges, in com- "parison of faire woven broadeclothes: And, trewlie, if there be any "good in them, it is either lerned, borrowed, or stolne, from some of "those worthie wittes of Athens." p. 235.—It is almost superfluous to add, that this sweeping challenge is again brought forward by the delighted Judge, with an air of complacency and triumph, that is truly amusing. See Orig. and Prog. of Language.

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(23.) See Aul. Gell. L. X. 26. &c.

(24.) See the foregoing Essay, Note 42. on p. 14.

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(25.) See Ascham's Scholemaster, p. 339. et seqq. Edit. Bennet.

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(26.) See Monboddo, Vol. III. 200. V. pp. 48. 49. VI. pp. 110. 111. &c. &c.

(27.) Sallust frequently uses *Bellum patrare*, for *Bellum perficere*; e. g. *Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit: Et, ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit, uno die, inter duos reges, coeptum atque* patratum *bellum foret.* Bel. Jugurthin. XXIV.—*Quæ postquam gloriosa modò, neque belli* patrandi *cognovit*, &c. Id. XCIII. *Ductare* he also puts, in

the same manner, for *ducere;* e. g. *Sed is Piso, in provinciam, ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu* ductabat, *iter faciens, occisus est.* Bel. Catilin. XIX. *Cnæus Pompeius, invisus sibi, magnum exercitum* ductabat. Id. XVII. &c. For these expressions, as it is observed in the text, Quintilian throws no blame on Sallust. He only condemns the licentiousness of his own times, in twisting them to obscene purposes; and adds, that the fault, in such a case, lies in the reader who misinterprets, not in the writer who gravely uses them. *Sed quoniam vitia priùs demonstrare aggressi sumus, vel hoc vitium sit, quod κακόφατον vocatur: Sive malâ consuetudine in obscoenum intellectum sermo detortus est, ut* ductare exercitus, *et* patrare bellum, *apud Sallustium dictâ sanctè et antiquè, ridentur à nobis, si diis placet; quam culpam non scribentium quidem judico, sed legentium.* Inst. Orator. L. VIII. 3. p. 589. Page 287.

(28.) *Tu interea restim* ductans *saltabis.* Adelp. Act. IV. 7.

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(29.) SALLUST, in several passages, puts this word for *supplicatio. Itaque Senatus, ob ea feliciter acta, Diis immortalibus* supplicia *decernere.* Bel. Jugurthin. LIX. *Cùm aræ, et alia diis sacrata* suppliciûm *sanguine foedarentur.* Fragment. L. 1. 23. Speaking of the virtues of the antient Romans, he observes; *In* suppliciis Deorum *magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant.* Bel. Catilin. IX. &c. &c. It is singular that Ascham should, at one and the same time, condemn this expression in our author, and quote Varro (De Re Rust. L. II. 5.) for the use of it. Varro was contemporary with both Cicero and Sallust; and, I believe, so great an authority could scarcely have been brought forward, for the *propriety*, or the *purity* of an expression; both because he lived in what has been considered as the purest age of the Roman language, and because he was on all hands regarded as a standard authority, by the most celebrated writers of that age.

Page 287. Cæsar, when he obtained the government, appointed him, as the most proper person, to select and arrange the public libraries, which he intended to establish at Rome (Sueton. in Cæs. XLIV.); and Asinius Pollio, who carried the idea into execution, and who opened the first collection of the kind known among the Romans, decorated it with a bust, or image of Varro, to the exclusion of that of every other living author. See Plin. Hist. Natur. L. VII. 30. Cicero, in the fine eulogium which he pronounced on Varro, particularly celebrates his authority as a critical scholar: *Tu omnium divinarum, humanarumque rerum, nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti; plurimumque pœtis nostris, omninoque Latinis et literis luminis attulisti, et verbis.* Academ. Quæst. L. I. 3.

(30.) HORACE, speaking of the compositions of Livius Andronicus, says, that his hostility to them is not, by any means, so great as to make him wish for their destruction; but his wonder is, that they should have been held up, in an enlightened period, as approaching to perfection, or as models of excellence.

> Non equidem insector, delendaque carmina Livî
> Esse reor; memini quæ plagosum, mihi parvo,
> Orbilium dictare; sed emendata videri,
> Pulchraque, et *exactis* minimùm distantia, miror.
>
> Epist. L. II. i. 70.

Here the participle *Exactis* is used in the same sense as is reprehended by Ascham. In a similar manner, Cicero puts *Exactiùs* for *Magìs accuratè*. See Ainsworth, in voc. *Exactè*. Valerius Maximus, also, has *Exactissima norma.*—The adverb *Exactè*, however, I have been unable to discover in any part of Sallust's writings: Where Ascham found it he does not pretend to inform us.

(31.) *FACUNDIA* is a term very often used by Sallust. *Sciebam*

(says he) facundiâ *Græcos, gloriâ belli Gallos, ante Romanos fuisse.* Page 287. Bel. Catilin. LVII. *Sed is (Marius) natus, et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, non Græcâ* facundiâ, *neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit.* Bel. Jugurthin. LXVII.: And in order to show, that this word is at least not of his own coining, he takes occasion, in his great History, to give it as used by Appius, in speaking of Cicero: *Cicero caninam* facundiam, *ut Appius inquit, exercuit.* Frag. Lib. Incert. XI.

(32.) INSTEAD of being a *new* word, *Facundia* seems to have been quite current in the time of Sallust. Horace, his contemporary, uses it four times at least. In the admirable injunction, which he gives to authors, to proportion their undertakings to their genius and ability, we have this well known-passage:

> Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam,
> Viribus; et versate diu quid ferre recusent,
> Quid valeant humeri. Cui lecta potenter erit res,
> Nec *facundia* deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.
>
> De Art. Poët. 38.

In the beautiful little ode, addressed to Torquatus, on the shortness and uncertainty of life, he says;

> Quis scit, an adjiciant hodiernæ crastina summæ
> Tempora Dîi superi?
> Cuncta manus avidas fugient hæredis, amico
> Quæ dederis animo.
> Cùm semel occideris, et de te splendida Minos
> Fecerit arbitria,
> Non, Torquate, genus, non te *facundia*, non te
> Restituet pietas.
>
> Carm. L. IV. 7.

See, likewise, De Art. Poet. 184. 217. &c. &c.—Ovid, who wrote immediately after, uses the word almost times without number: e. g. on

Page 288. the Metamorphosis of the nymphs of Emathea into magpies, he says;

> Nunc quoque in alitibus *facundia* prisca remansit,
> Raucaque garrulitas, studiumque immane loquendi.
> Metamorph. L. V. fin.

See, also, De Art. Am. L. I. 609. Metamorph. L. XIII. 137. 382. Trist. L. II. i. 273. L. III. v. 28. &c. &c. To these authorities we may add one from Manilius, who pretty certainly flourished in the Augustan age:

> Quidquid propositas inter *facundia* leges
> Efficit, hoc totum partem concessit in unam,
> Atque (utcunque gerunt dominantia sidera) parat.
> Astronomic. L. III. 117.

(33.) SED hic actor tantùm poterit à *facundiâ*,
Quantùm ille potuit cogitare commodè,
Qui orationem hanc scripsit, quam dicturu' sum.
Heautont. Prolog. 13.

(34.) *IMPOTENS et* nimius animi *est*. Sall. Fragment. L. IV. 1.

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(35.) NOLIS longa feræ bella Numantiæ,
Nec dirum Annibalem, nec Siculum mare.
Aptari citharæ modis:
Nec sævos Lapithas, et *nimium mero*
Hylæum.
Carm. L. II. xii. 1.

The example alluded to from Livy is still more apposite. In the war against the Sabines, when Quintius Cincinnatus was made Dictator, the historian speaks thus of the opinion entertained of him, by the

common people; *Ea (plebs) nequaquam tam læta Quintium vidit;* Page 288. *et* imperii nimium, *et virum in ipso imperio vehementiorem rata.* L. III. 26. sub. fin.

(36.) QUINTILIAN, in treating of figurative expressions, mentions *Vulgus amat fieri* as a phrase of Sallust's, that is borrowed from the Greek, but without the most distant hint of disapprobation of the historian. On the contrary, there is good reason to believe, from various passages in the writings of this judicious critic, that he approved of every effort to render his own language more copious. His words are; *Ex Græco verò translata vel Sallustii plurima, quale est, vulgus amat fieri.* Inst. Orat. L. IX. 3. p. 674. The work of our author, which contained this expression, appears to have been lost; but, in the Jugurthine War, there is a phrase very similar to it. The historian, after mentioning the monstrous bribery practised, at Rome, by Jugurtha, thus describes the consequence of his having secured the popular orators. *Ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Bæbius, tribunus plebis, quem pecuniâ corruptum suprà diximus, regem tacere jubet: Ac, tametsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, voltu, sæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus* quæ ira fieri amat; *vicit tamen impudentia: Ita populus, ludibrio habitus, ex concione discedit.* Bel. Jugurthin, XXXVIII. See also XLV. Here we have *amat* either used as an impersonal verb, or, in imitation of the Greek, joined to a nominative plural; for φιλεῖ is often used in this sense, as also οἶδε, ἐπίστανται, πέφυκε, and particularly among the poets. Sallust's master Thucydides (L. II.) has Τὸ φιλεῖ ὅμιλος ποιεῖν, and (L. III. 81.) Πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτε, καὶ οἷον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι. From Horace, however, we perceive, that the phraseology was, at this time, by no means peculiar to our author. Of the irresistible power of gold Horace says;

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Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere *amat* saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.
Carm. L. III. 16.

And, in another place, he thus expresses the delight, which his mind is accustomed to feel, in breaking through all restraint, and flying from Rome to the country;

Istuc mens animusque
Fert, et *amat* spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra.
Epist. L. I. xiv. 8.

See also Carm. L. II. 3. x. Even Cicero puts *Amare* for *Placere*, in one of his Letters to Atticus, where he says, *In eo valde me amo.*

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(37.) Bel. Jugurthin. LXXIX. fin. Edit. Havercamp.

(38.) The passage is in the Jugurthine War, and runs thus; *Sed postquam in Hispaniâ Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim* multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus, *brevi dilabitur.* XXI. That this construction is of Greek origin there can be no doubt, and is frequently to be found among writers in that language. Thus, Aristotle (Rhetor. L. III.) says, Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δήλων ὄντων, καὶ οἷα καὶ ἡλίκα, εἰς τὰ πάθη ἄγειν τὴν ἀκροατήν.

(39.) Varro, in his tract *De Vitâ Populi Romani*, a work now lost, has this sentence; *Propter secundas sublato metu, non in communi spectant; sed suum quisque diversi commodum focillantur.* L. II. ap. Non. de Contrar. Gener. Verbor. C. VIII. p. 755. Edit. Gothof. But, since the construction of Sallust is considered as so difficult, that no grammarian could explain it, what shall be said to

this construction in Livy, *Raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis,* which is far more intricate? It occurs in L. I. 29., where the historian is describing the cruel destruction of Alba by the Romans, and the removal of the conquered people to Rome. *Ut verò jam equitum clamor* (says he) *exire jubentium instabat, jam fragor tectorum quæ diruebantur, ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur; pulvisque, ex distantibus locis ortus, velut nube inductâ omnia impleverat;* raptim, quibus quisque poterat elatis, *quum larem, ac penates, tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes exirent; jam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias; et conspectus aliorum mutuâ miseratione integrabat lachrymas.* Here is, without doubt, a genuine Attic idiom, introduced into the Roman language, and which, in a more obvious form, would have stood thus; *Raptim iis, quæ quisque poterat efferre, elatis.* The practice, therefore, of borrowing from the superior tongue, is by no means peculiar to Sallust, but has been adopted by Cicero and Varro, by Horace, Virgil, Livy, and almost every other Roman writer. The constructions, thus imported into Latin, were, at first, considered as pleasing irregularities, σχήματα καινοπρεπείας; but they were, notwithstanding, gradually established and legitimated, as adding to the copiousness of speech. Of the same kind as the above are the irregular expressions, *Cui nomen Julo, Lactea nomen erat,* and many others. Page 292.

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(40.) The propensity to copy from one another, is unfortunately not confined to writers of secondary merit. Ascham, though no common-place critic, in treating of the classic authors, makes no objection to Livy or Tacitus, as being neither "plain for the matter," nor "sensible for mens understanding," which he justly might have done: But in his censures of Sallust he follows the multitude, and the prejudices of his master Sir John Cheke, without pretending to judge for himself.—An elegant scholar, as well as judicious critic

Page 292. of the present day, Mr Tytler of Edinburgh (now Lord Woodhouselee), characterizes Sallust's manner as remarkable for "singularity of expression, an antiquated phraseology, and a *petulant* brevity and sententiousness, which has nothing of the dignity of the historical style." See Elements of General History, Vol. I. p. 181. Now it is a singular circumstance, that a *dignified austerity* has, at all times, been considered as Sallust's prominent characteristic. In regard to "petulance," I am at a loss to perceive how it can be applied to style at all; and, if it could, how that of our author should deserve the imputation. But the present fashion is, to magnify Livy and Tacitus at the expence of Sallust; and, above all things, to conceal the fact, that Tacitus is not an original writer, but a manifest *imitator* of the last mentioned historian. Accordingly, it is curious to see how a critic, so judicious as Mr Tytler, contents himself with repeating the opinions of those who have gone before him: For, from his whole account of Sallust and Tacitus (in the work just now quoted), no reader could discover, either that Tacitus had copied the manner of Sallust, and Sallust that of Thucydides; or that, in this copy, our author had displayed any one essential requisite, or valuable property of style.

(41.) THIS is a most important principle in the cultivation of modern languages, and deserves particular attention among ourselves. In Britain, there has been always too great a propensity to borrow from the French; by which we are not sufficiently aware that it is *alloy* that we are acquiring, and not *bullion* to our coin. No wonder, then, that the intermixture has been resisted by the great masters of our language, who have uniformly contended, that, while nothing could thereby be added to its vigour, such a practice would be destructive of its genuine analogies. Translators, as Dr Johnson truly said, are "the great pests of our speech." They carelessly introduce a host of foreign words and phrases, which most commonly might be as well, and sometimes far better expressed in English; and

they unwarrantably throw, upon the language, that blame and dis- Page 292.
credit, which, in reality, are due to their own want of diligence, to their inferiority of genius, or their poverty of style. Possessing, as we do, the *first of living languages*, even by the acknowledgement of foreign nations themselves, we should disdain to adopt the heterogeneous idioms of an inferior tongue, or be reduced, as our great lexicographer observes, "to babble a dialect of France."

It is a circumstance not much known, but, on that account, not the less curious, that the proofs of the superiority of the English over every other modern tongue, should have been brought forward in *Germany*, and not in Britain. In the year 1795, an enquiry was instituted, by the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, in order to ascertain what was the most perfect language; and an ingenious Essay, by M. Jenisch, obtained the prize. The title of the Essay is, *Philosophisch-kritische Vergleichung und Würdigung von vierzehn altern und neuern Sprachen Europens*, &c. i. e. "A Philosophical and Critical Estimate and Comparison of fourteen antient and modern European Languages." The author first gives his idea of a perfect language, enumerating the various qualities, that may be deemed necessary to constitute it, namely, Richness, Energy, Brevity, Clearness or Precision, and Euphony. He then ingeniously examines the principal antient and modern tongues, by these five pre-requisites of excellence, and with great strength of reasoning makes it appear, that, after the Greek and Latin, the English unquestionably possesses the greatest number, and is consequently entitled to the palm of merit. The different languages here examined are, 1st. the Greek and Latin; 2dly. the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French; 3dly. the English, German, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish; and, 4thly. the Polish, Lithuanian, and Russian. His reasons for so classing and examining them he satisfactorily assigns in the Essay itself.

We may admire the candour of this philologist, but we have cause

Page 293. 294. to be proud of our country.—From his Estimate, however, we derive this important lesson; that we can never be too cautious in borrowing, except from the *Classical languages of antiquity;* and that, with whatsoever advantage the French, the Germans, and other European nations may borrow from *us*, we can reap little solid benefit, by an importation of strange idioms from *them*.

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(42.) See p. 267. of this Essay, and the Notes.

(43.) See Orig. and Prog. of Language, Vol. III. p. 260.

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(44.) The Life of Virgil, falsely attributed to Donatus, which contains so many absurdities, such as that of Virgil's knowledge of dogs and horses having first recommended him to the favour of Augustus, makes the poet travel to Naples (when he must, of course, have passed through Rome), in order to complete his studies. The best critics unite in thinking this assertion unfounded (See Crusius's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 46. and the authorities quoted by Bayle in art. Virgil): But by far the most conclusive testimony is that of Virgil himself, who expressly tells us, in his First Eclogue, that he had never seen Rome, until that division of lands, which Augustus made, in Italy, among his soldiers, when the patrimony of the poet, together with that of many others, being unfortunately lost, he obtained a grant of it from Augustus, through the interest of Pollio.

> Et quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?—
> Libertas; quæ, sera tamen, respexit inertem,
> Candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat. . .
> Hîc illum vidi juvenem, Melibœe, quotannis
> Bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant.

Hîc mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti; Page 295.
Pascite, ut ante boves, pueri, submittete tauros. 296.
V. 27. 43.

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(45.) See the passage, quoted from the tract De Clar. Orator. L. III. 24.; and, particularly, a full account of the Declaimers, in Note 22. on page 8. of Essay First.

(46.) See also the foregoing Essay, Note 22. on page 8.

(47.) When Plotius Gallus, the first Latin Rhetorician, set up his school, and the youth of Rome flocked eagerly to hear him, Cicero, as he himself informs us, being then a boy, felt great disappointment, because he was forbidden to be of the number. His wiser friends, who were among the most learned men in Rome, disapproved of the novelty, and were clearly of opinion, that it was more judicious to cultivate the taste, as well as to inform the understanding, by Greek exercises. *Equidem memoriâ teneo, pueris nobis, primùm Latinè docere coepisse Lucium Plotium quemdam: Ad quem quum fieret concursus, quòd studiosissimus quisque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar, autem, doctissimorum hominum auctoritate; qui existimabant, Græcis exercitationibus ali meliùs ingenia posse.* This anecdote, we find, made a part of a treatise of Cicero's, addressed to Marcus Titinnius. It is now lost; but the passage is preserved by Suetonius, who quotes it in his Book *De Claris Rhetoribus*, II.

I take this opportunity of requesting, that the reader would correct a typographical errour, which appears at page 294, line 22, of this Essay, on the same subject, where Cicero is said to have been born A. U. C. 742, instead of 642.

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(48.) Aristot. de Rhetor. L. III. 14.

Page 297. (49.) In fact, it appears that Quintilian, instead of finding any fault with Sallust, has fairly given a defence of him, in the passage here alluded to. It is the opinion of Aristotle, as this candid critic observes, that, in the opening of Demonstrative, or Epidictic compositions, the writer may be allowed the most extensive range. Isocrates, in his encomium upon Helen, furnishes an example of this, by commencing from topics, which are wholly foreign and remote. He does the same, in his piece entitled the Panegyric; but, with this difference, that he does not wander to so great a distance from the point, but contents himself with complaining, how unjustly the mental faculties are ranked below the bodily, in the estimation of mankind. Gorgias, also, in his Olympic discourse, begins with a general eulogium on the men, to whom public games are indebted for their origin: And thus it is that Sallust, in imitation of those celebrated authors, introduces his Catilinarian and Jugurthine Wars, by descanting on questions, that bear no immediate relation to the subject. *In demonstrativis proœmia esse maximè libera existimat (Aristoteles). Nam, et longè à materiâ duci, ut in Helenes laude Isocrates fecerit; et ex aliquâ rei viciniâ, ut idem in Panegyrico conqueritur, plus honoris corporum, quàm animorum, virtutibus dari: Et Gorgias, in Olympico, laudans eos, qui primi tales instituerunt conventus. Quos secutus videlicet Crispus Sallustius, in Bello Jugurthino et Catilinario, nihil ad historiam pertinentibus principiis orsus est.* Inst. Orat. L. III. 8. p. 244.

* Page 297.

(50.) We learn the anecdote in question from one of the last Letters, that this great man wrote to Atticus. Think of my carelessness, says he, addressing himself to his friend! The treatise *De Gloriâ*, which I lately sent you, had the very same Introduction prefixed to it, as I formerly had put to my third Book of the Academic Philosophy. But the fact is, I always keep by me a collection of Proœmia, or Introductions; and, when I have any work in contemplation, I select, from

the number, such a one as I conceive to be adapted to the subject. Page 298. When I sent you the tract just now mentioned, I was at my Tusculan Villa; and, not recollecting that I had made use of this Introduction before, I placed it at the head of that piece. A late perusal, however, of the Academical Essays, during my voyage, disclosed the mistake; and I directly sat down, and wrote another Proœmium, which I likewise dispatched to you, and which will equally well answer the purpose. Please, therefore, to take away this old one, and affix the new Proœmium to the proper piece. *Nunc negligentiam meam cognosce. De Gloriâ librum ad te misi: At in eo proœmium id est, quod in Academico tertio. Id evenit ob eam rem, quòd habeo volumen proœmiorum: Ex eo eligere soleo, cùm aliquod σύγγραμμα institui. Itaque, jam in Tusculano, qui non meminissem me abusum isto proœmio, conjeci id in eum librum, quem tibi misi. Cùm autem, in navi, legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum. Itaque statim novum proœmium exaravi; tibi misi. Tu illud desecabis, hoc agglutinabis.* Epist. ad Attic. L. XVI. 6. This anecdote is curious; and exhibits what may seem to us rather a fantastical way of writing: But it tends to account for the discursive nature of the Prefaces of Sallust, who, we may believe, was not without his collection of *ready-made* Proœmia; and it shows both the sentiments, and the practice, which prevailed among the antients, in regard to that department of their studies.—We have to regret, that the Tract *De Gloriâ*, from a pen such as that of Cicero, has not come down to modern times.

(51.) Inst. Orator. L. III. 8. p. 244. See Note 49. anteh.

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(52.) That this was the universal opinion of the antient writers will admit of no dispute; and, accordingly, we find no Greek or Roman historian, who did not diligently profit by the opportunities, that the Speech afforded, of displaying his rhetorical powers. Lucian, who, in his treatise on the manner of writing History, has laid down many

Page 299. of the best principles of the art, entirely coincides in this sentiment. Whenever it is necessary, says he, to make your personages speak, nothing must appear but what is appropriate to their characters, or connected with the subject; and, above all, the most perfect perspicuity must reign throughout the composition. In this department, however, you may legitimately be permitted to play the orator, and show forth the dignity, and the power of eloquence. Ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ λόγες ἐρῶντά τινα δεήση εισάγειν, μάλιστα μὲν ἐοικότα τῷ προσώπῳ, καὶ τῷ πράγματι, οἰκεῖα λεγέσθω. ἔπειτα, ὡς σαφέσταται καὶ ταῦτα, πλὴν ἐφεῖταί σοι τότε καὶ ῥητορεῦσαι, καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν τῶν λόγων δεινότητα. Quomodo conscrib. sit Hist. pp. 637. 638. Edit. Græv. See also on this subject, and Note 65. anteh, the two immediately following the present Note.

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(53.) This diligent writer (who is believed to have been father to the philosopher of the same name, in the time of Nero), in the Preface to the third Book of his Declamations, introduces a conversation between himself and his friend Gallio, on the different talents of men, which contains the following passage. *Quærenti mihi, quare in declamationibus impar esset sibi, hoc aiebat: Quod in me miraris, penè omnibus evenit. Magna quoque ingenia, à quibus multùm abesse me scio, quando plus quàm in uno eminuerunt opere? Virgilium illa felicitas ingenii in oratione solutâ reliquit: Ciceronem eloquentia sua in carminibus destituit: Orationes Sallustii in honorem historiarum leguntur.* p. 336. Edit. Dalechamp. Fol. By some critics it is understood, that Seneca here intended a compliment to the Historical compositions of Sallust, at the expence of the Speeches; and, by others, that it is a compliment to the Speeches, at the expence of the History; propositions in themselves diametrically opposite, both of which, however, the construction of the words seems calculated to warrant. In order to render the perplexity perfectly complete, we find, that the reading of the latter clause of the passage wholly differs in different

M.SS., some having it *leguntur* simply, as it is quoted above, and some having it *non leguntur*. In either view, it should seem, at least from the context, as if the disapprobation of Seneca were levelled at the Speeches; yet, all that can possibly be objected against those noble compositions (as I have stated in the text) is, that their eloquence is of that close, and sententious sort, intended only for the closet, and that its effect would be lost, and its spirit would evaporate, in a popular assembly; or, as Quintilian well expresses it, *Quod otiosum lectorem minùs fallit, audientem transvolat.* Lord Monboddo, on the other hand, in his Origin and Progress of Language (Vol. III. pp. 208. 209.), is clear for that acceptation of the words, which should applaud the Speeches, and condemn the History. It seems only, however, for the purpose of making Seneca appear to entertain the same prejudices as himself, in regard to composition: For, how such an interpretation is to be reconciled with the obvious scope of the context, he has not pretended to inform us. Page 299.

(54.) CICERO, who understood, better than most men, the nature and the difficulty of good composition, both written and oral, and may, indeed, be considered as rather partial to the latter, makes a clear distinction between the style of History, and of the Orations introduced into it, and that of Forensic eloquence. So far from desiring that the philosopher or historian should, from the retirement of his study, produce popular orations, he is rather apprehensive that too much attention to philosophy and science, might abstract orators like himself from that style of eloquence, which best befits the habits of the bar, or the business of a public assembly. To the productions of the former he gives every praise, for strength and elegance, whether in treating of civil occurrences, or enquiring into physical, or moral truths. Yet they have, withal, he says, an elaboration and a display, wholly foreign to the language of real business, and unsuitable to the agitation of the bar, or of the Forum. *Præsertim in hâc nostrâ vitâ, nostrisque*

Page 300. *occupationibus, illud etiam verendum est, ne abstrahamur ab hâc exercitatione, et consuetudine dicendi populari, et forensi. Aliud enim mihi quoddam genus orationis esse videtur eorum hominum (philosophorum et historicorum); quamvis illi ornatè, et graviter, aut de naturâ rerum, aut de humanis rebus loquantur. Nitidum quoddam genus est verborum, et lætum; sed palæstræ magìs et olei, quàm hujus civilis turbæ, ac fori:* De Orat. L. I. 18. See also, particularly, De Clar. Orator. LXXXIII. Now, the style of Sallust was obviously meant as a style of labour and elegance *(Palæstræ et olei)*, and by no means of business, by its author. He professed to compose such speeches as should be read with interest, not such as might be pronounced with applause: And it was absurd in Seneca to adduce, as an example of deficiency of talent, a case, where the exercise of that very talent, to which he alludes, was neither intended by the author, nor demanded by the nature of his work.

See some admirable observations of both Cicero's and Quintilian's, on the great difference between historical, and oratorical composition, in Note 41. on p. 14. of Essay First. See, likewise, the opinion of the younger Pliny, on the same subject (Epist. L. V. 8.); which, although metaphorically expressed, and savouring, in some degree, of the taste of the times in which he lived, yet tends to establish the same principle.

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(55.) ALLUDING to the well-known story of Fabricius, who was Consul A. U. C. 475, together with Q. Æmilius. In that period, the Romans maintained an obstinate contest with Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who had come over from Greece, in order to assist his allies the Tarentines, and aspired to the conquest of Italy. After the bloody engagement at Asculum, which was fought with nearly equal advantage on both sides, the king's physician, or, as some say, a messenger charged with a letter from him, came to Fabricius, offering, for a suitable reward, to take off his master by poison, and thus put an end to the

war. Fabricius abhorred the villany of the man, and resolved not to sully the Roman character. Having consulted with his colleague, who entertained the same sentiments, they instantly apprized the king of the treason; and by sending back, with their dispatches for that purpose, the very messenger who had come from the Grecian camp, they rendered him at once an evidence of his own guilt, and of their magnanimity. When Pyrrhus perused the dispatches of the Consuls, he is said to have cried out, That it were an easier task to turn the sun from his course, than to allure Fabricius from the path of virtue! *Ille est Fabricius, qui difficiliùs est ab honestate, quàm sol à cursu suo averti posset.* Aur. Vit. XXXV. See also Cic. de Offic. L. I. 13. III. 22.—Plutarch. in Pyrrh.—Liv. Epitom. XIII. XIV.—Val. Maxim. L. IV. 3. Page 300.

(56.) When Jugurtha, A. U. C. 637, sent his son, with two ambassadors, to Rome, in order to deprecate the anger of the Senate, for having made war against Adherbal, he found corruption and venality at a prodigious height. His directions to the ambassadors were "to bribe every man they met" *(Omnes mortales pecuniâ aggrediantur)*; and their success was fully in proportion to his expectation. It was in the same manner that both deputies and Consuls in Africa yielded to the arts of the wily Numidian; and, five years after, when he himself came to Rome, his gold was scattered, with such profusion, among Senators and Tribunes, among popular orators and Consular generals, that he had nearly escaped the punishment, and even the abhorrence due to his crimes. His treasures, however, were exhausted at last; and, as Roman avarice still expected a supply, he was forced to depart from Italy. It was on this memorable occasion, after he had got without the gates of Rome, that he anxiously looked back, and made the following pointed, and prophetic exclamation: Devoted city! cried he, whose venality, erelong, must accomplish thy ruin. How easy were it to *buy* thee, if we could but find a *purchaser!* *Urbem venalem, et maturè perituram, si emptorem invenerit!* Sall. Bel.

Page 302. Jugurthin. XXXIX. That a purchaser soon after was found, the history of Cæsar sufficiently evinces.

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(57.) Καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν μόνον ὁρῶν γράφε, ὡς οἱ νῦν ἐπαινέσωνταί σε, καὶ τιμήσωσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἐστοχασμένος, πρὸς τὲς ἔπειτα μᾶλλον σύγγραφε, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀπαίτει τὸν μισθὸν τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς λέγηται καὶ περὶ σέ. ἐκεῖνος ἀμέντοι ἐλεύθερος ἀνὴρ ἦν, καὶ παῤῥησίας μεστός. ἐδὲν κολακευτικὸν, ἐδὲ δολοπρεπὲς, ἀλλ' ἀλήθεια ἐπὶ πᾶσι, τῷτ' εἰ σωφρονοίη τις, ὑπὲρ πάσας τὰς νῦν ἐλπίδας θεῖτο ἄν, ἕτως ὀλιγοχρονίες ἔσας. Lucian. Quomodo scribend. sit Hist. p. 638. Edit. Græv.

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(58.) In this censure it is by no means my intention to include the very respectable author of the Origin and Progress of Language, who is by far the best critic, that has appeared, on the genius and writings of Sallust. In the course of the present Essay and Notes, if I have not been able entirely to agree in opinion with this judicious scholar, I have endeavoured to do justice to his classical taste, and to his extensive erudition. In his account of the style of history, and of that of the Roman historians in particular, some peculiarity of prejudice is discernible; but there is, also, much critical acumen, and sound judgment displayed. To Tacitus he shows no mercy: On Livy, likewise, he is sufficiently severe: Sallust, upon the whole, escapes most easily from his censures. None of the three, however, in point of genius, he considers as equal to the great Greek Historians, with whom they have so often been compared; and, in point of style, they are, in his judgment, nothing more than the corrupt pupils of the schools of Declamation. In regard to the former of these assertions, there is such a difference of taste, that every scholar may, perhaps, not agree with him: And concerning the latter, I have endeavoured to show, that it is neither founded in fact, nor agreeable to chronology, as applied to Sallust.

The peculiar fancy (I had almost said folly) of Lord Monboddo, seems to be, to consider no Latin writer as capable of elegance, and almost no Greek writer as liable to imperfection. Seized with this idea, he is insensible to the improvements that were made, and chiefly by Sallust, on historical composition, in the hands of the Romans; and he is no less blind to the wants and imperfections, which, in its progress among the Greeks, it certainly exhibited. Considerable benefit, notwithstanding, may be derived, by the classical reader, from the strictures of this learned critic, if their perusal be qualified with the necessary grains of allowance, and with an attention to the foregoing remark. Page 302.

Perhaps there is no work of modern times, that can be more safely recommended to the young student, than the Origin and Progress of Language; as there are few productions, in which so much real learning, and so much sound criticism are brought successfully to bear upon the same points. One species of merit it peculiarly possesses, and that I cannot help regarding as respectable. It endeavours to withdraw our attention from the frivolous, but fashionable pursuits of the present day, and direct it to the classical ages of antiquity, when arts, as well as letters, were so highly cultivated. Its object is to point out the true principles of language, and laws of criticism, and to establish them on facts concerning the early ages of the world, and the actual progress of the human mind.—Whatsoever aims, in any of the fine arts, at holding up to our imitation the beauty of the antient models, and, particularly, those unrivalled masters of invention and elegance, the Greeks, must usefully tend to excite our emulation, while it checks our self-sufficiency. As it will enable us to appreciate, with fairness, the exertions of modern genius, so it will have a salutary influence in correcting our prejudices, and in ripening, and polishing our taste.

END OF THE NOTES ON ESSAY SECOND.

EPISTLES,

OR

POLITICAL DISCOURSES,

ADDRESSED TO CÆSAR,

ON THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

EPISTLE FIRST,

ADDRESSED TO

CÆSAR.

I. PERHAPS of all undertakings there is no one more delicate and difficult, than to address advice to the ear of power; to a sovereign prince, to a celebrated general, or, in a word, to him, who is elevated to authority over his fellow-men. This is true, in the first place, because the great never want advisers: And, secondly, because to look, with clearness, into futurity, far exceeds the keenest foresight, and the most consummate wisdom. Besides, we may observe, that neither wisdom nor foresight can insure success; and, as the caprice of fortune will ever have its influence on human events, so it often happens, that the worst or the weakest turn out to be more prosperous than the wisest counsels.

I can, notwithstanding, without arrogance, pretend to some knowledge in affairs of state. Ambitious to figure in public life, I early observed, and deeply meditated, the nature and foundations of our government. Nor was it my only aim to

rise to the honours of the magistracy; for these, I knew, had often been the reward of corruption and intrigue, not of ability or virtue: But I felt the desire of knowledge; and I was anxious to comprehend the great interests of the commonwealth, both at home and abroad; to learn the genius of its policy, and the extent of its resources, whether in wealth, in arms, or in population.

Intent as I was on these studies, I resolved rather to commit my reputation, and incur the reproach of vanity, than neglect any fair occasion of promoting your interest, or adding to the lustre of your reputation. Nor is this sentiment the result of presumption, or of a servile deference to power or grandeur. My respect for your character is founded on this, that, with whatever moderation you have borne the favours of fortune, it was when she frowned that you always seemed to rise the highest, erect and firm amidst the shocks of adversity. Concerning your munificence and liberality, what further need I say, than is so fully attested by the world, whose applause is unable to keep pace with your merits; whose diligence shall sooner sink under the labour of commendation, than your efforts relax in the career of glory?

II. In the present address concerning THE GOVERNMENT, I am aware, Cæsar, whatsoever be its merit, that I cannot thereby add to your knowledge; neither have I presumed, with the design of magnifying my own talents or ingenuity, to offer some considerations on that important topic. But, amidst the business and fatigues of war, with which you are occupied, amidst the tumults of battle, and the shouts of victory, I deemed it salutary to remind you of our civil concerns, and the

state of affairs in the capital. Should it only be your aim to escape the violence of your enemies, and, by retaining those ample powers, which the people have conferred, to make head against a designing Consul (1), you will permit me to say, that such views are too limited and narrow for the mind of Cæsar. Where, then, were the firmness of him, who, as yet in the infancy of his career, overthrew the Patrician phalanx, and rescued the Roman People from an ignominious bondage? who, during a memorable Prætorship, and with no other means than the authority of the office, was able to put to flight a host of enemies in arms; whilst illustrious atchievements, both at home and abroad, silenced his adversaries on every theme, excepting that of his growing ascendency (2). If, in such features of character, Cæsar, peradventure, recognize himself, he will favourably listen to what I have to lay before him, on the great business of the Government. My observations, in the main, if not free from objection, he will, at least, admit to be founded in justice.

III. It is the disorders occasioned by Cnæus Pompey, that in the first place claim your attention. That injudicious man, either through a blind infatuation, or a hostility to you, weakly put arms into the hands of his enemies. It is by pursuing his career, yet profiting by his errours, that you must heal the wounds he has inflicted on the commonwealth.

His first step was to throw into the hands of a few Senators an exorbitant authority, and thereby destroy the antient balance of the constitution. To them he committed the charge of enforcing the laws, of disbursing and managing the public revenues; while the Roman People, in whom the sovereign

power was heretofore vested, were stripped of their rights, and we of the Equestrian order, of course, reduced to a state of vassalage. It is true, the antient system has nominally been restored, and their judicial rights again vested in the three orders: Yet the same petty tyrants still maintain their dominion. They arbitrarily grant; they as capriciously take away; and unscrupulously sacrifice the good and virtuous, in order to raise to distinction the tools of their despotism.

IV. With these men, no manner of infamy, or wickedness, or flagrant crime, is sufficient to exclude from the honours of the magistracy. Whatever strikes them as convenient or desirable they seize without shame, and engross without reluctance. In a word, they ravage with a boundless licence; regarding the city of Rome as a place they have taken by assault, and the only law the will and pleasure of the conquerors. Nor would it, in my mind, be so very grievous, were the insolent domination, which they, as usual, exercise, the fruit of a victory obtained by their valour. But the case is far otherwise. Cowards in their hearts, volubility of tongue is their sole merit; while power has fallen into their lap, only by the chance of the times, and the unaccountable tameness of their fellow-citizens.

Is there to be found, in the whole course of our history, a sedition or civil war, which has ever produced the same fatal effects, the same extensive ruin to illustrious families; or so cruel an abuse of the rights of conquest (3)? Sylla, who, as a conqueror, had every title, which that character could confer, to trample upon the laws of his country, when compared with some of our demagogues, may fairly be quoted as an ex-

ample of moderation. Though he well knew, that, by cutting off his adversaries, he could effectually strengthen the power of his faction, there were few, at that period, who fell by the stroke of the executioner. He chose that a display of mildness, not a system of terrour, should be the basis of his authority. But, under the domination of his adherents, what deplorable excesses have we not seen committed? Not only Carbo and Domitius (4), and other persons of like principles, but forty Senators have also been cut off, together with the flower of our youth, all victims to their fury. Meanwhile, did the civil blood, which they thus made to flow, suffice to appease them? Deaf alike to the cries of the orphan, the tears of the widow, the entreaties of youth, and the groans of age, they maintained their course of unbridled violence. They grew daily fiercer, with insolence and brutality; and whomsoever they regarded as hostile to their views they degraded from his rank, or else expelled from his country (5).

V. Of yourself it is almost superfluous to speak, whose downfal they would now gladly purchase with their lives. Although intoxicated with a dominion they neither deserved nor expected, they are still more mortified by your elevation. They are rather willing, in planning your ruin, to risk both their liberties, and the safety of the empire, than that that empire, under your auspices, should attain a height of splendour unknown among the nations. Judge, therefore, of the personal interest, which you possess, in the restoration of the government; and of what moment it is to all that it be fixed upon a basis the most effectual, and most permanent. My ideas on the subject I shall not hesitate to express with freedom. It is

for you to approve, or to reject them, as to your better judgment they may seem just or useful.

VI. The Commonwealth of Rome, as I find, was originally divided into two parts, the Senate and the People (6). In the former was centred the supreme power; but superiority of numbers gave greater strength to the latter. In the popular secessions, therefore, which frequently took place, the ascendency of the Nobles received a sensible shock, and the power of the People grew gradually more formidable. But civil liberty then flourished in perfection; nor was there any power, that overtopped the majesty of the laws. Did the man of birth at any time aspire to outstrip the Plebeian (7)? It was not in wealth or pride that his emulation was exhibited, but in honest fame, and deeds of valour; while the meanest citizen, blessed with the supply of every real want, was regularly trained to the use of arms, or to habits of rural labour (8), and was never wanting to himself, nor to his country.

In process of time, as the political circumstances of the People varied, a total change took place in their character. When they had, by degrees, lost their landed property, want and sloth naturally succeeded. Without a home, which they could call their own, they began to covet the possessions, and depend for support on the bounty of others; and they too soon set to sale their liberty, and their country. Thus, by a deplorable degeneracy, this manly race, that once could boast the empire of the world, dwindled into insignificance; and, instead of the mighty power, which they aggregately possessed, they fell, at length, into that individual slavery, which they no longer desired, nor deserved to escape. Corrupt as the popu-

lace now are in their manners, dissociated by habits, and split into professions; and, above all, destitute of every principle of unity, or power of cohesion, no set of men, in my judgment, can be figured more unfit to be entrusted with the government.

VII. In order to remedy these evils, there seems to me to be but one method, that can be adopted with success. Let a proportion of fresh citizens be added to the old (9); and, by that means, a spirit of renovation, and a sense of liberty, will pervade the whole. From the acquisition of their new rank, the former will be anxious to preserve their liberty; and, stung with the sense of a disgraceful servitude, the latter will be ambitious to recover it. The next step is to transplant and colonize them; but let the colonists prudently be composed of the associated mass. When thus removed from the vices of the capital, a vigorous nursery will grow up for the armies of the republic; and a populace, nurtured in honest industry, and useful habits, will no longer have leisure to distract the government.

I am not ignorant, should a scheme like this be carried into effect, how furious a storm, and how loud a clamour, it would raise among the nobility, who, with an affected patriotism, would reprobate the innovation. In their eyes, its purpose would be to establish anarchy in the place of order; to send into exile the antient citizens; and, setting up an odious despotism, instead of a free constitution, to confer the rights of the City, to a most alarming extent, by the arbitrary act of a singular ruler. Dissenting as I do from such dogmas, I will freely assert, that although that man is unwise, as well as cri-

minal, who, by whatever means, purchases popularity at the expence of the public; yet when the interest of the individual, and that of the community, are at once centred in the same object, it is a proof of sloth, as well as a want of firmness, to desist from the enterprise.

For this purpose, the fate of Marcus Livius Drusus affords a striking lesson (10). That great man, during the course of his Tribuneship, kept steadily in view the interests of the nobles; nor was it his desire, at least in the outset, that any measure should be taken, without their authority. But Drusus had unhappily to act with men factious, designing, and unprincipled. They perceived that a scheme, vast in its extent, and diffusing important benefits to the whole of Italy, was planned by a single man. They had themselves no conception of patriotism, without artifice and fraud; and they judged of the Tribune's motives, from their own subtle, and faithless character. Apprehensive lest he should acquire an influence proportioned to his merit, and thereby be tempted to seize upon the government, they opposed his measures. So anxious, indeed, were they to baffle Drusus, that they counteracted themselves, and fairly lost sight of their real interest.

VIII. Warned, Cæsar, by examples such as this, you will perceive the necessity of procuring friends, and strengthening your power by every possible method. The danger, that is open and honourable, intrepidity may face, and will in the end vanquish. But the ruffian, who stabs in the dark, men of courage and virtue are unprepared to resist: They are ignorant of his arts, and unsuspicious of his purposes, and they too often perish by the blow (11).

In the salutary design, then, of adding to the People, and endeavouring to restore their antient character, I would strenuously recommend a reform of the manners, and, next, the cultivation of unanimity and concord. It is by these means that the old, and the new citizens will be brought most effectually to coalesce together. But there is yet another species of reform still more important, namely, to eradicate from the mind the love of money; or, if that cannot be, to diminish, as far as possible, its baneful influence; a benefit, could you confer it, of all others the greatest to yourself, to your country, to your fellow-citizens, to posterity, and, in a single word, to the whole human race (12). Without such a reform, what degree of prosperity can be enjoyed by a people, either at home or abroad, in private life, or in public transactions? Where riches are idolized, the manners must be corrupted, the nerves of discipline relaxed, and no propitiousness of disposition can resist the allurement. Even the mind itself must forget its powers, and, sooner or later, sink into inactivity.

In the page of history we may perceive events, sufficiently demonstrative of the effects of this pernicious passion; states and kingdoms, that, when depraved by wealth, have lost the mighty empires, acquired during the age of poverty and virtue. Nor, if we attend to its progress, will such extent of its power create astonishment. The good man, when he sees virtue contemned, and vice, if possessed of wealth, approached with deference, and honoured with distinction, at first indignantly resents the preference, and many a bitter reflection arises in his mind. But by degrees, the splendour of rank dazzles his fancy, and the pleasures of riches gain admission to his heart; until he sinks, at last, into the common corruption.

IX. It must be acknowledged, that diligence finds, in the praise of distinction, a fair and honourable reward. Take away from virtue that incentive, and you leave her with a severe, and unconciliating aspect. Where riches are worshipped, honour, good faith, probity, modesty, and principle of every sort, are held as light in the balance: For there is but one path which leads to virtue, and that is difficult and rugged; whereas to wealth there are a thousand, ever open, and at the choice of its votaries. I beseech you, therefore, let your first care be to lower riches in the common estimation. Let the high offices of Consul and Prætor be once bestowed on real dignity, and distinguished talents, not on superiority of fortune, and the possession of the latter will no longer have power to exalt, or to depress, in the opinion of the world.

In regard to the choice of magistrates, that is a point, which may be safely entrusted to the discretion of the People. The case of the Judges is somewhat more complicated (13). To leave their election to the few, were contrary to the free spirit of the constitution; and to make it depend on their wealth, would be improper, as well as injudicious. The best method seems to be, to render the whole of the first Class of citizens eligible to the station, but, at the same time, to encrease the number of the Judges. Among the Rhodians, however, as well as other nations, we do not find that any inconvenience was experienced, from their promiscuous, and crowded tribunals. To these the poor and the rich were indiscriminately called, as the lot fell on either; and they indifferently decided on every matter, whether of the least, or of the greatest moment to the community.

Perhaps Caius Gracchus has left the model the least excep-

tionable, for a reform in the system of our elections. By the celebrated law, which he proposed during his Tribuneship, the Centuries of all the five Classes were indiscriminately to be thrown into one mass, and their suffrages then given, as they were chosen by lot, without favour or partiality (14). Were this plan adopted, the whole would be reduced to the same level. Rank and opulence would be stripped of their ascendency, and a noble emulation kindled in every breast, to contend only for superior virtue.

Such are the obvious, but effectual remedies, which I would propose for the abuse of riches. All objects, we find, attract regard, or excite competition, according to their utility, whether real or supposed. If the wicked, for example, are guilty of crimes, they commit them from the prospect of some advantage. Take away that inducement, and there is hardly any man, who will become gratuitously profligate (15). But avarice, licenced by opinion, and confirmed by habit, is like a beast of prey, at once ravenous and insatiable. Wheresoever it prowls, nothing is able to withstand its fury: In the streets or the fields, in the houses or the temples, all things divine and human are laid waste and confounded. It pervades armies, and overleaps battlements: It separates children from their parents, and parents from their children, and soon despoils all of their honour, their reputation, and their liberty. But were gold deprived of its adventitious splendour, it would cease to glitter in the eyes of mankind. Avarice, we might then hope, would yield to rectitude of manners, and virtue be restored to her empire in the heart.

X. These are incontrovertible facts, and they probably will

be admitted on all hands, and by all parties. Yet you must, notwithstanding, expect a strenuous opposition from the faction of the nobility. If you only be able to counteract their intrigues, the remainder of the business will be an easy task. Were worth and honour the characteristic qualities of those Patricians, an honest emulation, not an envy of merit, would actuate their conduct. Indolent, effeminate, and torpid in themselves, their first resource is excessive clamour, and their next virulent detraction; naturally feeling that the glorious achievements of other men are a tacit reproach to their own insignificance.

These things are notorious; a minute detail would be wholly unnecessary. Did not the courage and energy, for which Bibulus is so remarkable, sufficiently blaze forth, during his memorable Consulship (16)? What, in fact, could be expected from a man, who is scarcely able to express himself intelligibly; an arrant fool, and yet a still greater knave, whom the highest dignity of the state did only expose to the greater contempt, and the more lasting ignominy? Or, is Lucius Domitius (17) any less contemptible? Odious with vices, and polluted with crimes of every sort, he is at once vain and loquacious, cruel and cowardly; besides being infamous for practices, which decency abhors, and which, on that account, I forbear to mention (18).

XI. Of the whole party Cato (19) is the only one, whose character can be considered as in any wise respectable. In the school of the Greeks he certainly has acquired consummate subtilty and address, together with a flow of eloquence; but the hardier qualities of courage, and vigilance, and the

love of labour, are no longer to be found among that degenerate people. They, who through effeminacy and indolence have, long since, lost their own liberties, would prove but indifferent masters, to instruct us in the theory of morals, or the science of government. As for the rest of the faction, what are they but mere automatons of nobility, who have nothing but their names to remind us of their existence. Men like Posthumius or Favonius (20) may be considered as the ballast, or extra-loading, in the vessel of a state. If the voyage prove successful, it may be turned to account: But if storms arise, and prudence require to lighten the vessel, it is sure to be thrown over board, as the part of the cargo, which is of the least value.

Having dwelt sufficiently long on the new-modelling and reforming the People, I shall, in the same manner, proceed to speak of the Senate; a subject of which, from my habits of thinking, I may perhaps be able to judge with candour.

As I grew up to man's estate, I took little pleasure in arms and horses, the usual objects, that occupy the Roman youth. Possessing greater vigour of mind than bodily strength, I turned my whole thoughts to science and letters, resolving most diligently to improve what nature had most liberally bestowed. In the course of a considerable acquaintance with men as well as books, I clearly perceived, that wisdom and prudence are the best bulwarks of kingdoms and states, which will continue great and prosperous, as long as those virtues are steadily adopted as the rule of their conduct But where, through the selfishness of interest, the influence of fear, or the seductions of pleasure, these become languid or corrupted, po-

litical strength visibly declines; the loss of empire, of course, succeeds; till their career is closed by an ignoble bondage.

XII. Those, who possess the highest rank, and the most distinguished honours, are, without doubt, the men, that should take the greatest interest in the welfare of a state. National prosperity, though interesting to all, less sensibly affects the private citizen, who looks from it for little more, than personal protection, and the preservation of his rights. He, on the other hand, who by superiority of merit has risen to wealth, and rank, and splendour, acutely feels for every revolution of the government. The slightest symptoms of political decline rouse his apprehensions, and call forth his activity. Glory, fortune, public liberty; each is a perpetual source of labour or inquietude: For, the higher he has flourished in prosperity and power, the more keenly he will feel the stroke of misfortune, and be the more anxious to avert it from himself, and from the commonwealth.

Hence it is evident, in all governments, how large a share of control should be vested in the higher orders. The Senate ought to be to the People what the soul is to the body: It is for the former to resolve, but for the latter only to execute. The Fathers should have talents, and deliberative wisdom: Prompt obedience, not the conceit of superior sagacity, is the best temper for the People. Such was the useful spirit, which animated our ancestors. During their most disastrous wars, amidst the loss of men, and money, and arms, and resources of every description, they maintained the contest with unshaken perseverance; nor were they ever known to despair of the republic. In vain did the force of enemies, the frowns

of fortune, and the sight of an exhausted treasury, combine to subdue their resolution. That, which had been acquired by former valour they determined not to relinquish, but with the last drop of their blood. But these achievements were ever the result of vigour, and union of counsel, rather than of a display of courage in the field. In this virtuous period there was but one voice, one interest in the republic, and that was exerted for the general good. In regard to factions, they were unknown, unless it was to combine against the common enemy; while assiduity and talents, instead of being prostituted to party-views, and private aggrandizement, were vigorously directed to the advantage of the community.

XIII. WIDELY different is, indeed, the case in these days, when a few leading men have drawn into their hands the whole power of the state. Enervated, slothful, and strangers to effort, unacquainted alike with the fatigues of war, and the details of business, they are placed at the head of an oppressive faction at home, and thence aspire to lord it over the universe. The Senate, which heretofore, by its energy and wisdom, saved the commonwealth, is now awed into submission. It wavers in its conduct; it fluctuates in its decisions, the servile organ of individual influence. At one moment it enacts, at another it rescinds its feeble decrees; giving the specious names of public benefit, or public disadvantage, to the animosities, or the arrogance of its despotic masters.

In order to check so inordinate a power, and give to the legislature its due weight, it would be necessary to establish some system of independence, and some method of voting with secrecy in the Senate (21). To destroy altogether private as-

cendency is, perhaps, impossible. The great families will ever inherit a certain degree of rank, of clientship, and of proportionate influence, from an illustrious ancestry; but let the great mass of the Senators, who are without that distinction, be unawed by fear, in the free discharge of their duty. In this way will all, by the benefit of secret suffrage, be fairly enabled to consult their own dignity, and real usefulness, rather than the selfish designs, and aggrandizement of others.

Without doubt, liberty and independence are universally flattering. The good and the bad, the brave man and the coward, alike desire to possess them; but the unsuccessful means, which the generality pursue, evince the weakness of their character. Abandoning the contest in the first moments of opposition, they give up all for lost, from a mere want of effort; already shrinking with fear, and anticipating defeat, when, through greater firmness, they might have secured the victory.

XIV. Towards reforming the Senate, then, I think much might be done, first, by encreasing the number of the members (22), and, secondly, by obliging them to vote by the Tablet (23). By abolishing, at once, open suffrage, the body would be freed from its present restraint; and, by an encrease of numbers, there would be a greater portion of activity, of experience, and of useful talent, for the public service. As this assembly is now constituted, a disposition to escape from the business of the house has become almost universal. Some, in their judicial capacity, must necessarily be engaged in the inferior Tribunals; and some are perpetually taken up with their own private affairs, or with those of their friends or acquaint-

ance. But the truth is, they have another motive at bottom. They willingly absent themselves from deliberations, where they are sure to be treated with insolence, or else mortified by neglect. The reigning faction, together with a few Senators, who are subservient to their views, carry all before them: They formally sit to approve, or to condemn, regulating their decrees by no law or rule, but their will and pleasure. By an addition of numbers, such as I propose, and the salutary method of voting by the Tablet, our leading men would soon be brought to form a juster idea of their own importance. Laying aside their airs of pride and grandeur, they would learn to respect the authority of a body, on whom they have of late been accustomed to trample, with such unwarrantable arrogance.

Perhaps, Cæsar, on considering the hints contained in this Letter, you will require of me a variety of subordinate details; such as the specific number, to which I would encrease the Senate; the various departments I would assign the members; and, since it has been proposed that the election of the Judges should not be confined to the first Class of citizens, from what classes they should hereafter be chosen, and next, what proportion from each particular class. These are questions, which it were eaſy to resolve. But the great object of this address is not to present to you a complete system, but only a general outline. Of the principle I have adopted I trust you will approve; and, should you resolve to carry the scheme into effect, I will cheerfully enter into the detail, and enumerate every particular. In the wisdom and utility of the plan I am, of course, deeply interested; as the credit I shall acquire will necessarily be in proportion to the degree of success, which, in

your hands, may crown the execution. Be that as it may, I feel for my country; and my first wish will be gratified, if some speedy remedy, of whatsoever species, be found for the evils, which have well nigh overwhelmed its constitution.

Fame I value as highly as any man; yet I value higher still the blessings of civil liberty. I beseech, I conjure you, therefore, rest not satisfied with the praise of foreign conquest. As by your Gallic victories you have acquired sufficient fame, O aspire to the greater glory of saving your country! nor suffer to perish, by civil discord, or by slow decay, an empire which has proved invincible to external enemies!

I entreat you, bear in mind, should this calamity befal us, the severe retribution, that inevitably awaits you: What but anxious days, and sleepless nights; with a conscience never ceasing to haunt you with its reproaches, and alarm you with its terrours? With me it is a fixed principle, that human affairs are ever under the guidance of a Divine Providence, whose all-seeing eye discriminates between good and evil, and who will impartially requite whatsoever is done by the just, and by the unjust. Retribution, though slow, will come at last; and conscience, meanwhile, an unerring monitor, suggests to every man what he has to hope, or to fear, in that trying period (24).

XV. Could the voice of your ancestors, and that of your country, now address you, methinks they would adopt the following strain.

"It is to us," they would say, "O Cæsar, to us, the most "valiant of mankind, that you are indebted for your birth, in "this fairest of cities; formed, at once, to be its ornament and "its pride, the shield of its defence, and the terrour of its ene-

" mies. Those things, which we acquired by perseverance, and
" dangers, and a long course of prosperity, we freely bequeath-
" ed to you, as your birth-right; a country, which is mistress
" of the world; and, with that country, an illustrious name;
" an honourable family; the gifts of fortune, and of distin-
" guished talents; in a word, all the blessings of peace, and
" all the honours of war. For these benefits, great as they are,
" what do we expect from you? Not, surely, a life marked by
" excesses, and sullied with crimes, but a vigour that shall re-
" store the liberty of the commonwealth. Give us but that,
" and your virtues shall go abroad, on the wings of fame, to
" the remotest corners of the globe! Heretofore, although,
" both at home and abroad, every tongue must confess the ex-
" tent of your achievements, yet they have placed you only in
" the rank of other heroes. A far greater object now awaits
" your efforts. Be it yours to snatch, from the brink of ruin,
" an empire unrivalled in renown, a city the foremost in the
" universe; and thus reach a glory splendid and unfading,
" as the importance of the benefits, which those efforts shall
" have bestowed.

" Nor is it one nation alone, that is interested in the issue.
" The welfare of Rome involves the safety of the universe;
" and if, through inherent decline, or irresistible calamity, she
" must fall at last, what wars, and bloodshed, and cruel deso-
" lation, will accompany the shock! Propped by your vi-
" gour, and renovated by your patriotism, let her still preside
" among the nations of the earth: While you, yielding to the
" voice of those, who now fondly address you, shall transmit to
" posterity an immortal renown; which, though great, and
" glorious during your life, shall become greater still, when

" you are released from its anxieties.—Living merit is almost " always sure to be obscured by envy, and sometimes to be de- " pressed by misfortune: But, when death closes the scene, " the voice of detraction is heard no more, and virtue, pure " and unsullied, is suffered to shine forth beyond the grave."

Thus, Cæsar, I have written to you, as concisely as I am able, concerning some things, that seem to me needful to be done, as well as useful to you, in the present juncture. Whatsoever be the means you may judge it fit to adopt, may the immortal Gods eminently prosper them, rendering the event honourable to yourself, and salutary to your country.

END OF EPISTLE FIRST.

EPISTLE SECOND,

ADDRESSED TO

CÆSAR.

I. It has usually been thought, that crowns and sceptres, wealth and power, and every other object of human ambition, are the gifts of Fortune (1). By her, it is alleged, they are as capriciously granted, as they are unworthily enjoyed, and with no certainty of tenure to him who possesses them. But experience shows the truth to be, as Appius (2) has expressed it, in his verses. That every man is the architect of his own fortune,

Fabrum esse suæ quemque fortunæ;

a sentiment, Cæsar, never more fully verified than in yourself: For, pursuing a career far above the rest of mankind, your fellow citizens will sooner fail in expressing their applause, than your efforts relax in deserving their admiration.

The ascendency, however, which is obtained by valour, must, like other architecture, be firmly supported; lest, through ne-

gligence or weakness, it be injured by accident, and yield to decay. Power is a possession ever liable to envy. No man will submit to it without constraint; and he, who is destined to rule over others, must, at all events, become an object of terrour, not from his temper, or his conduct, which may be moderate and just, but from the licence he enjoys of doing evil with impunity. The reason is obvious. Monarchs and others, possessed of authority, are too apt to exercise it with corruptness and despotism; ignorantly supposing that their thrones are the more secure, in proportion as their people are debauched and wicked. Your ambition, I trust, is of a better sort; and, as you are yourself good and brave, it will dictate the wish to rule only over the virtuous. Under all governments, it is ever found, that the vicious and profligate are the most turbulent subjects (3).

II. A MORE arduous task now lies before you, than has fallen to the lot of any of your predecessors; I mean that of settling the government, after your late successes. You have conducted a war more distinguished for humanity, than even seasons of peace, under the administration of others (4). Add to this, that your victorious troops are naturally clamorous for the spoils of conquest; and the vanquished, alas! are their fellow-citizens. In this dilemma, you will have to observe, towards each, a prudent firmness (5). You will have to fortify the commonwealth, not only against domestic assailants, and foreign enemies, but, what is far more difficult, to secure to it the blessings, and promote the arts of peace.

On occasions like this, all are interested to come forward with their counsel, whether they be possessed of splendid ge-

nius, or of but moderate ability. On the mode, which shall be adopted, for the settlement of our affairs, depends, in my mind, our future unhappiness, or our future welfare. I therefore again request your candid attention to a few things, which I have to offer, on that important topic.

III. In the contest, Cæsar, in which you have been engaged, you had for your opponent an eminent character; a man distinguished by his wealth, his inordinate ambition; and, beyond question, more favoured by fortune, than possessed of wisdom, or of solid talents (6). Of his followers some, on account of personal injuries, took arms against you; while some, from relationship, and others, from private obligations, sided with Pompey (7). Yet they were all content to fight under him. Such was the pride and arrogance of the man, that he never would admit of a partner in power; a temper, of all others most unhappy for the world, which has been rent by the fury of our contending factions. As for the rest of his force, it consisted of the multitude; who, according to custom, are led on by example, rather than directed by judgment, and easily persuaded to entrust to their leader the choice of the way (8).

You, meanwhile, were vilely calumniated. On groundless rumours, a set of men, whose sole object was a revolution, flocked to your camp. Infamous for vice, no less than effeminated by luxury, they threatened those, who had taken no part in the contest, with destruction and pillage, and every sort of outrage to be expected from miscreants, who thus hoped to be set loose from legal sanctions (9).

IV. The event, however, speedily undeceived them. Finding that you had no design either of cancelling their debts, or of using your fellow-citizens like conquered enemies, the greater number soon dropped off. A few only remained; satisfied to enjoy, in the security of the camp, that temporary respite from the clamour of their creditors, of which there was no hope at Rome. But this was nothing to the prodigious crowds, that, on similar accounts, flocked afterwards to Pompey. In fact, during the whole of the war, desperate debtors of every sort considered the camp of that commander as the place, where they were sure of a welcome, and inviolable asylum.

Fortunately these times are past. Your victorious arms have oppressed your rival; and it is for you now to decide as to war and peace; how the former shall be most honourably terminated, and the latter fixed on a fair, and lasting basis. Deliberate, therefore, maturely what measures you should pursue, and act according to the sentiments of your own breast. For myself, I am persuaded that power, exercised with severity, is seldom permanent, and always irksome to the possessor. The prince who is feared, not beloved by his people, must, in his turn, experience the terrour he inspires. His life is, so to speak, a constant warfare, certain in its existence, but doubtful in its issue; and, which ever way he turns, there are alike dangers that threaten, and fears that perpetually torment him. He, on the other hand, who, in the exercise of power, tempers justice with clemency and moderation, sees nothing around him but pleasing objects, and joyful countenances. Even in the midst of enemies, his security is more certain, than that of the tyrant, though surrounded with his slaves (10).

V. LET no man say, that, by such counsels as these, I would plead only for the vanquished, and abridge the advantages you should derive from conquest. It is true, I would plead for some indulgence; but it is an indulgence to fellow-citizens, such as foreign nations, though naturally hostile to us, have ever experienced; and I venture to deprecate that inhuman spirit, which, with the ferocity of barbarians, cries aloud for blood, and when blood has been shed, would rigorously expiate it, by the hand of the executioner.

Have we, then, so soon forgotten the cruelties of Pompey, and the proscriptions of Sylla, both calamities of recent date, or how keenly they excited the public abhorrence? Has the fate of Domitius, of Carbo, of Brutus, and so many others, escaped our recollection (11)? They were all cut off, not by the laws of war, and in the heat of battle, but basely and ungenerously, when they had laid down their arms, and sued for mercy; besides numbers of the common people, butchered like cattle, in the Villa Publica (12)! To this catalogue, what private atrocities might not be added; what sudden and frequent murders! while houses were cruelly laid waste; and women and children strove to save themselves from the sword, in the arms of their fathers, and their husbands!

VI. SUCH is the shocking account of our former revolutions, down to the present one, which you have effected; and it is the actors, who figured in those cruel scenes, that would now persuade you to consent to their renewal. In their eyes, the sole object of the war was to decide, whether Pompey or Cæsar should possess the power to sanction every outrage on his fellow-citizens! The commonwealth, according to the same

patriots, was to be enslaved by your arms, not saved by your exertions. Armies of gallant veterans, when their time of service was expired, were to unsheath the sword, some against their fathers and brothers, and some against their children, to gratify the appetites, and pamper the luxury of men, whose character alone was sufficient to tarnish the laurels of victory, as well as the fair reputation of those, by whom that victory was acquired! I cannot suppose that you have forgotten the sort of conduct, which some of them maintained during the contest. Instead of a vigorous management of the war, dedicating their time to women and wine, they exhibited such excesses, as at their age were sufficiently disgraceful, even in seasons of tranquillity.

VII. I HAVE now enlarged sufficiently upon the war. Permit me next to say something on the subject of peace: For to render it permanent, I well know, is a design, which yourself and your friends have earnestly at heart. For this purpose, let us maturely consider the nature of the object. Let us discriminate between the good and the evil, which are likely to attend it; and thus we shall be best enabled to dismiss prejudice, and arrive at the truth.

That all human institutions are liable to decay there is no sort of doubt; and that this mighty empire must, like other things, yield to fate, I consider as certain and unavoidable. But sure I am, that it is civil discord alone, which will produce the catastrophe. Citizen will then rise up against citizen; till utterly weakened, and exhausted by the conflict, they bend the neck to some foreign yoke. While we are true to ourselves, all the nations of the earth shall in vain assail us.

Their efforts, though united, can never shake the firm edifice of Roman power, far less raze it to the foundations. If this be true, it follows, of course, that our great object is to strengthen the bonds of union, and to banish from among us every ground of contention or discord.

VIII. For this purpose, Cæsar, be it your first care to check the vices of extravagance and peculation. Antient institutions, like antient virtue, it were a vain attempt to recal, in a degenerate age, or even to prevent their being treated with ridicule (13). But much may be done, by obliging every man to confine his expense within his income. The youth of the present day, when they launch into the world, commence their career by spending their own fortunes, and then they proceed to borrow from their companions. They next indulge in every vicious appetite. They deny themselves nothing; and they refuse as little, at the request of others; exploits, which are extolled as magnificent and generous, while the real virtues of temperance and moderation are branded with the appellation of want of spirit. The youthful mind, ardent and impetuous, when once habituated to such a course, becomes impatient of control. Desires encrease, as resources are exhausted. Citizens and allies forthwith become a prey. Measures are taken to embroil the government; and a new fortune must be raised, by the usual methods, on the ruins of the old.

It will here be asked, by what means shall the youth be restrained from their habits of dissipation and extravagance? The only method is to abolish for ever the profession of the usurer (14), that all may diligently look into their own affairs. By this obvious, and easy device, the honours of the magistra-

cy will no longer be prostituted to the emolument of creditors, but sought after for the public good; while those, who possess them, will deem it glorious to labour for that laudable object, and not to plunder for their private use.

IX. I KNOW very well how rigorous these salutary measures will appear, especially to such men, as hoped, from a revolution, for greater licence, not to be brought under a stricter discipline. But by consulting their interest, rather than the gratification of their passions, you will extend the best effects of peace, at one and the same time, to them, to us, and to our allies (15). On the other hand, should the youth continue in their present vicious course, it is easy to predict, that your own reputation, glorious and distinguished as it is, will perish erelong, with that of the empire. Wise men, it may be observed, encounter labour for the sake of ease; and they engage in wars, from the prospect of tranquillity. But if that be not secured on a firm foundation, what matters it, whether, by all their efforts, they have obtained the name of victors, or of vanquished?

Wherefore, I beseech you, by the immortal Gods! undertake the care of the republic. Surmount every obstacle, with your accustomed vigour: For it is you alone, who can heal its wounds, or they must remain incurable for ever. For this end, there is no need of cruel sentences, or bloody executions. These, although they may lay waste, will never accomplish the reform of a state: But let a corrective be found for the vices of the rising generation, by which our morals are poisoned at the fountain-head. Can there be an act of greater clemency, than to prevent the crimes, by which unthinking men are ex-

posed to banishment from their country; to restrain them from their follies, and false pleasures, and effectually to establish peace and concord? By tolerating crimes, and compromising with vice, real cruelty is practised. It is delusively to hold forth some temporary gratification, as the price of lasting pain.

In regard to the greatness of the undertaking, that, in other hands, might be a ground of despondency; in yours, on the contrary, it gives assurance of success. It is for common minds to engage in secondary, or inferior enterprises. Cæsar's was formed to embrace the universe; to preside over the republic, both by sea and land: and he needs not to be told, that if the object is noble, the glory is commensurate to the magnitude of the object.

X. LET the People, then, who have been too long corrupted by supplies of corn, and other largesses, be forced to follow after honest occupations, and thereby be prevented from disturbing the government. In like manner, let the youth, instead of wasting their years in riot and prodigality, be trained, by times, to virtuous pursuits. For which purposes, I pray you, limit the use, and lessen the reputation of money, which is the root and origin of every evil (16). The more I reflect concerning the fortunes of men, and the revolutions of empires, how both have advanced to fame and power, and how they as rapidly have sunk into subjection and insignificance, the more I am persuaded, that it uniformly is owing to the same causes, a contempt of gold on the part of the conquerors, and an insatiable thirst of it on that of the conquered.

How can the soul aspire to elevation, if it continue intent

on the pleasures of sense, and the sordid desire of amassing treasure? It is not by a course of easy indulgences, by soliciting the desires, or flattering the passions, that we can hope to tower above the herd of mankind, and reach the perfection of the heavenly nature. It is by labour, by patience, by fostering generous sentiments, and performing virtuous actions. To place our sole ambition on the construction of palaces; on filling them with costly furniture, with statues, and tapestry, and other frivolous objects; that would, indeed, be to render wealth a reproach, instead of an ornament: It would be to declare, that, of all the articles in this glittering repository, the owner himself was the least worthy to be seen.

What, then, shall be said to those, who are sunk in sensuality; who regularly devour two meals in the day, and cannot pass the night without their mistress? Is it wonderful, if by such practices they debase the mind, instead of suffering it to assert its rightful ascendency, that relaxation, and feebleness, and inefficiency should ensue? Thus it must happen; when they attempt any vigorous, or useful effort, they bring disappointment on themselves, and miscarriage on their enterprizes. But these, and other evils, would soon cease to exist, were money once brought into merited disesteem; were the offices of the state, and other objects of ambition, not scandalously sold to the highest bidder.

XI. Besides these, there are other abuses, which call for reform, as they regard the peace both of Italy, and of the Provinces: But on that subject it is unnecessary long to detain you. A set of men, not dissimilar to those, whom I have above described, there commit their depredations; first by

ruining their own estates, which they immediately abandon, and then by seizing upon those of others. Moreover, in the military department, all injustice and inequality should be strictly prohibited. Some veterans, after serving thirty years, are still continued on the list; while others, within a single year, as improperly obtain their dismission from the service. The corn also, which is usually lavished on the idle and undeserving, should hereafter be served out to veterans of character, throughout the colonies and municipal towns, whose time is expired, and who have creditably retired to their native homes.

XII. I HAVE presumed, Cæsar, thus shortly to throw out to you a few hints, relating to a plan, which, if adopted, might prove honourable to yourself, and important to the commonwealth. It may be proper, before I conclude, to offer something in apology for myself.

I well know that there is no want of persons, possessed of discernment, or who think they possess it, sufficient to decide on every topic; but there is still a greater number, who are anxious to condemn both the words, and the actions of other men. In fact, the volubility of the tongues, and the whole powers of utterance of such censurers, are insufficient to express the malice of their hearts. That I shall not escape it I am indeed aware: But I would far rather be the object of their slander, than continue silent or inactive, on this occasion.

Whether, in the difficult career, on which you are to enter, you adopt my counsel, or be guided by a better, I shall feel the satisfaction of having done my duty. I have honestly ex-

erted myself according to my talents; and, whatever be your designs, I have only further to add the wish, that the immortal Gods may be pleased to look upon them with favour, and crown them with success.

END OF EPISTLE SECOND.

NOTES

ON THE

EPISTLES, OR POLITICAL DISCOURSES,

ADDRESSED TO CÆSAR,

ON THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

NOTES

ON

EPISTLE FIRST,

ADDRESSED TO CÆSAR.

MUCH controversy, among the learned, has arisen on the subject of these two Discourses. By some it has been made a question, whether they were intended as EPISTLES, or as ORATIONS; and some have gone so far as to maintain, that they are by no means the genuine compositions of Sallust.

As to the First point, I greatly wonder how any man should have thought of giving them the title of Orations, who had only read the former of the two, from beginning to end; as there the author himself, in one place, calls it a "Letter;" and, in another, he particularly specifies the use and object of what, he says, he had "written" to Cæsar. *Forsitan, Imperator, perlectis* Literis, *desideres, quem numerum Senatorum fieri placeat; quoque modo is in multa, et varia officia distribuatur; &c. . . Quæ mihi utilia factu visa sunt, quæque tibi usui fore credidi, quàm paucissimis potui,* perscripsi. Sect. XIV. XV.

In regard to the Second point, it cannot be dismissed with quite so much brevity. The spuriousness of the pieces was once a very popu-

lar opinion, and supported by distinguished names, and elaborate disquisitions. It was supposed to be favoured, in the first place, especially by their style. In the second place, the Discourses themselves are never mentioned by the antient Grammarians, who so copiously quote from the other writings of the historian; and, for both reasons, it was thought proper to refer them to Tacitus, or some other writer, of an inferior age of the Latin tongue. This sentiment, though recommended by the learning and ingenuity of Cortius, is now pretty nearly exploded among scholars, who seem to be agreed in acknowledging the Epistles as genuine, on the very probable evidence, brought forward to support them.

The Letters *De Republicâ Ordinandâ, ad C. Cæsarem,* were first published by Julio Sanseverino, better known by the name of Pomponius Lætus, towards the close of the 15th century, from the Sallustian M.SS. in the Vatican Library, at Rome. There they certainly were found, together with Sallust's acknowledged pieces; and that, with the strong internal evidence which they exhibit, seems sufficient testimony in their favour. He, in fact, who considers, without prejudice, the style of these Discourses, will entertain little doubt that they belong to the best age of Latin composition, and proceed from the pen of Sallust, who flourished in that age. There is every where discernible the same train of sentiment, the same brevity and force, as in his other writings; although, as they were the produce of an earlier period of his life, not without some symptoms of less maturity of thought, and less correctness of expression. To this it may be added, that they mark far more strongly, than either of his historical pieces, the real character of the man.

The learned Douza has bestowed much labour, in tracing the correspondence of the style of the Epistles, with that of the Catiline, and the Jugurthine War. He regards the former as by no means inferior, in point of strength and purity, to either of the latter; in which sentiment he is joined by Wasse, whose judgment, as a critic, has every title

to respect. Cortius pertinaciously takes the opposite side of the question, and endeavours to overturn the reasoning of Douza. In the management of the controversy, however, he displays little of his usual taste or discernment: And, what is remarkable, the parallel passages, brought together in his Notes on the Epistles, form some of the clearest proofs, that could possibly be adduced, against his own opinion.

The best presumptive evidence in support of the sentiment of Cortius is, that the Epistles are never quoted as Sallust's, by the Grammarians. But that will appear of no great weight, when we consider how much less known they necessarily must have been, than his Histories; and, above all, that the Epistles are no where mentioned, by the ancient critics, as proceeding from the pen of any *other* writer.

Of the scope and character of these Discourses I have already delivered my opinion at large, in Essay First, on the Life and Genius of the Historian; and I confess I cannot help regarding them as productions of considerable value and curiosity. They preserve an authentic picture of the temper of the parties, which distracted Rome, at the close of the Republic, and of the opinions then entertained concerning the usurpation of Cæsar. It is to be regretted, that more of the fugitive pieces of the day, or Political Pamphlets, as they very properly may be called, are not extant. We should probably see from them, among other things, that it was not so much the ambition of this extraordinary man, as the excessive corruption, degeneracy, and turbulence of the times, which placed the government in the hands of a single ruler.

The Epistles on the Administration of the Government were, beyond a doubt, Sallust's earliest publications. The First came out towards the close of the year of Rome 704, after Cæsar had made himself master of Italy, and been created Dictator; a chronology, which every way coincides with the scope and tendency of the Letter itself. The author seems to have been desirous, by some literary effort, to gratify his patron, as well as to distinguish himself among the crowd of

his adherents; and if he warmly eulogizes the Dictator, we must acknowledge it is for qualities, of which it is almost impossible to say too much, since he stands unrivalled for them at this moment. Men had, in that period, but two sides to chuse, that of Pompey, or of Cæsar, who contended for the empire of the world: It may, therefore, be supposed, during the heat of such a struggle, that political animosity would be carried to its greatest height. Like other party-men, our author speaks with extraordinary warmth, and even violent prejudice. He eloquently exaggerates the virtues of his friends, and the vices of his enemies: But, as some additional proof of the authenticity of the pieces, we may observe, that he betrays none of the coldness of a passive sophist, who is uninterested in the cause in which he writes.

It is curious enough to compare what he says of Cato, in the First Letter, with the noble portrait, which we find of him, in Catiline's Conspiracy, after the debate in the Senate. In the former case, it is the keen political disputant, who comes forth as the champion of his party. In the latter, it is the dispassionate, and philosophic historian, who is desirous, in an after-period, when prejudice has died away, to embalm the virtues of an illustrious patriot by his genius, and transmit them to posterity.

Possibly some objection may be made to the title here given to these Discourses, namely, "On the Administration of the Government;" and it may require an apology. Without doubt, *De Republicâ Ordinandâ* is not accurately expressed by it. "On settling, or regulating the Government," would have been more correct. But the difference is not material; and it was thought that the former made a better title in English.

Concerning the inverted order of the two Epistles, as they stand in most editions, nothing need be said, further than what has been observed in Essay First, p. 49, as their natural order is now restored. That the Second Letter was really the first written, is clear from the

internal evidence, which I have adduced; and other corroborative circumstances will probably occur to the classical reader, on the perusal of both pieces. Page 451.

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(1.) The date of this Epistle, as already observed, being A. U. C. 704, the Consuls then were C. Claudius Marcellus, and L. Cornelius Lentulus; both of whom were warmly attached to Pompey, and they strenuously counteracted Cæsar's interest. It is the Consul first mentioned, who seems to be alluded to by Sallust, on this occasion.

Cæsar was now at the head of the army, in Gaul. The good understanding, that had subsisted between him and Pompey, was at an end, and on the point of being turned to an open rupture. Marcus Marcellus, the brother of Caius, had, some time before, moved in the Senate, that Cæsar should be deprived of his province, as the war in that quarter was brought to a termination; and that, in spite of the indulgence voted to him by the People, of standing, during his absence, for the Consulship, he should be obliged to disband his troops, and come, for the purpose of soliciting that dignity, to Rome. Cæsar, alarmed at these proceedings, diligently augmented his force, but assumed the appearance of moderation; speciously proposing to resign his command, provided that the same thing were done by Pompey. The Senate, however, was under the influence of the latter, and proceeded to declare him a public enemy.

The consequences are well known. Cæsar immediately passed the Rubicon, got possession of Rome, and in sixty days made himself master of Italy; on which Cicero justly exclaims, *O celeritatem incredibilem!* And, in speaking of the astonishing rapidity of his successes, when compared with the supineness of Pompey, he says, *Illum ruere nuntiant!* See Epist. ad Attic. L. VII. 20. 22. &c. Also Essay First, pp. 48—50. and Notes.—Cæs. de Bel. Gall. VII., & De Bel. Civil. I.—Plutarch. & Sueton. in Vit. Cæs.—Dion. Cass. L. XL.

Page 451. XLI.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. &c. It was this indefatigable activity, this ardour united with perseverance, which could press towards its object in spite of opposition, that made Lucan so emphatically say of him,

> Cæsar in omnia præceps,
> Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum.
> Pharsal. L. II. 657.

(2.) In order clearly to apprehend the causes, that gave occasion to this skilful flattery, we must recur to some former occurrences, in the political life of Cæsar; which, although here rather rhetorically stated by our author, are nevertheless founded in fact.

It had been Cæsar's great object, from a very early period of life, to obtain the favour of the People. Under Sylla's late domination, the Patrician party was raised to the zenith of power; and he saw, that his own ambition could not be more effectually promoted, than by espousing the popular interest. For this purpose, his private connections were favourable. He had married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, and his aunt Julia was the widow of Caius Marius. Add to this, his extreme affability, and insinuating manners, his unbounded munificence, and splendid style of living, were such as attracted universal admiration.

During his Ædileship, the magnificence of Cæsar's shows far surpassed those of any other individual. He entertained the people, as we learn from Plutarch, with no fewer than three-hundred-and-twenty pairs of Gladiators; and, in the show which he exhibited, the same year, for his father's funeral, the whole furniture of the Amphitheatre was of silver *(Omni apparatu arenæ argenteo usus est.* Plin. Hist. Nat. L. XXXIII. 3.); a style of expense, which had never been attempted by any of his predecessors. Thus, if he succeeded in his political views, he soon exhausted his fortune; and, as he himself on

one occasion observed, he was 250 millions of Sesterces *(Bis millies et quingenties)*, that is, nearly L. 2,018,229 of our money, worse than nothing! Page 451.

The first act of open hostility, shown by Cæsar to the Patrician faction, was his ordering the images of Marius to be brought forth, and carried in the procession, at the funeral of his aunt Julia; a thing which, since Sylla's usurpation, had never been attempted; and he even had the boldness to erect his military trophies in the Capitol. Sueton. in Cæs. XI.—Plutarch. in Cæs. Besides this, he principally contributed to restore the power of the Tribunes, which Sylla had abridged; and to procure the recal of his own brother-in-law, L. Cinna, and others, who had been banished, as partizans of Lepidus and Sertorius.

In the next place, he was the author of a new Agrarian law, to divide the lands of Campania and Stella among the poorer class of Roman citizens, to the number of 20,000, who had each three, or more children. Sueton. in Cæs. V.—Cic. Orat. pro Planc. V.—Epist. ad Attic. L. II. 16. 18. 19.—Dion. Cass. L. XXXVIII. 1. 7. During his Consulship, he remitted, to the Roman Knights, the third part of what they had stipulated, by a disadvantageous agreement, to pay for farming the Asiatic revenues. Sueton. XX.—Cic. pro Planc. VII.—Dion. Cass. ubi sup. So complete was his victory over the nobles, and his credit and influence with the People, that even before he had held the Prætorship, he sued for, and obtained, by the suffrage of the Tribes, the high office of Pontifex Maximus, in opposition to candidates of the greatest consideration, and particularly Q. Catulus, who was Prince of the Senate. Sueton. XIII.—Sall. Bel. Catilin. XLIX.

But some of the most remarkable acts of opposition, made by Cæsar to the power of the nobility, was during his Prætorship, A. U. C. 690, the same year in which Catiline's Conspiracy broke out, and in which he is said to have been implicated. He formally accused Catulus of the crime of peculation in the disbursement of the public money, and

Page 451. proposed a law, to oblige him to render an account, to the People, of the expense of repairing the Capitol; and then to transfer the care of finishing the edifice to Pompey. See Dion. Cass. L. XXXVII. 44. Edit. Reimar.

By the advice and support of Cæsar, Metellus Nepos, one of the Tribunes, proposed an ordinance to the People, which directed, that Pompey should march his army from Asia into Italy, under colour of composing the troubles, occasioned by the Conspiracy of Catiline, and the rashness of Cicero; but the real object of the law, as Plutarch observes, was to make Pompey master of the government, in order that, by his assistance, the ambitious designs of both might be carried into effect. Ἦν δὲ τοῦτο λόγος εὐπρεπὴς, ἔργον δὲ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τέλος, ἐγχειρίσαι τὰ πράγματα Πομπηΐῳ, καὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. In Cat. Minor. XXIV. Edit. Reiske. See also Dion. Cassius (L. XXVII. 43.), who expresses himself, in other words, to the same purpose. On this, the Senate suspended both Cæsar and Metellus from their functions, and prohibited them from acting, the one as Prætor, and the other as Tribune of the People.

The disturbances, which ensued, were prodigious. Cæsar, at first, was inclined to persist in the duties of his office, and prepared, as usual, to go down to the Tribunal: But, finding that an armed force was ready to oppose him, he laid aside his robes, dismissed his Lictors, and retired, as a private person, to his own house, resolving calmly to wait the event. Two days after, the people, of their own accord, but in a tumultuous manner, assembled at his house, loudly declaring, that they would take it upon themselves to vindicate his honour, and restore him to his office; when Cæsar, instead of accepting their services, exerted his influence to compose their fury, and then prudently dismissed them. The Senate, which had suddenly met on account of the tumult, was not prepared for such an instance of moderation. Persons of the first rank were deputed to wait upon Cæsar; to thank him for his conduct,; and to request that he would

return, and take possession of his seat in the assembly. The result Page 451.
was, that he actually did return in great triumph, amidst the applause of the Fathers, who reinstated him in his office, and unanimously cancelled their prohibitory decree. *Cæcilio Metello, Tribuno plebis, turbulentissimas leges adversùs collegarum intercessionem ferenti, auctorem, propugnatoremque se (Cæsar) pertinacissimè præstitit; donec ambo administratione reipublicæ, decreto patrum, summoverentur. Ac nihilo minùs permanere in magistratu, et jus dicere ausus, ut comperit paratos, qui vi, ac per arma prohiberent, dimissis lictoribus, abjectâque prætextâ, domum clam refugit, pro conditione temporum quieturus. Multitudinem quoque, biduo pòst, spontè et ultro confluentem, operamque sibi in asserendâ dignitate tumultuosiùs pollicentem, compescuit. Quod cùm præter opinionem evenisset, Senatus ob eundem coetum festinatò coactus, gratias ei per primores viros egit; accitumque in curiam, et amplissimis verbis collaudatum, in integrum restituit, inducto priore decreto.* Sueton. in Cæs. XVI.—This is evidently the circumstance alluded to by Sallust, when he says, *Inimicorum arma inermis disjecit;* and we must confess that it was a fair subject of compliment, on account of the judgment, as well as firmness, which his patron had displayed.

Weak as such conduct may seem, in the supreme power of the state, towards a private individual, it exhibits a curious proof of the strange, and distracted condition of the Roman commonwealth, in the present period. That it was flattering to Cæsar there is no sort of doubt. In fact, it might be considered as the proudest victory he could gain over his Patrician opponents; while it tended to fix, more firmly than ever, the attachment of the People. Yet Cæsar, in his heart, was no republican. He had not, like Brutus, a love of liberty, nor, like Cicero, any regard for the constitution of his country. He may be said, however, to have displayed, as Isocrates says of a less distinguished character, all the virtues and accomplishments, which fitted him to rule over other men. As a statesman, he was versed in the arts of govern-

Page 452. ment; as a demagogue, he could acquire the affections of the people; while, in the hour of danger, and at the head of his troops, he was both provident and undaunted in the field. Still, as a prince, he fairly outshone, by uniting the excellencies of these various characters. Ὅλως δὲ ἐδέν παραλείπων ὧν προσεῖναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, πρέπει· ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑκάστης πολιτείας ἐκλεγόμενος τὸ βέλτιστον. καὶ δημοτικὸς μὲν ὢν τῇ τε πλήθες θεραπείᾳ, πολιτικὸς δὲ, τῇ τῆς πόλεως διοικέσει, στρατηγικὸς δὲ, πρὸς τὲς κινδύνες εὐβελίᾳ, τυραννικὸς δὲ, τῷ πᾶσι πέτοις διαφέρειν.

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(3.) In this, and the foregoing Section, our author keenly directs his declamation against his own, and Cæsar's political opponents; and, it must be confessed, that he has not reprobated them beyond their demerits. On Pompey personally he is extremely severe; as that celebrated chief certainly was trained in the school of Sylla, whom he emulated, and even surpassed, in the cruelty of his executions; and he might now be considered as his successor, at the head of the Patrician faction. Hence Lucan truly says of him;

> Bella nefanda parat, suetus civilibus armis,
> Et docilis Syllam sceleris vicisse magistrum.
> Pharsal. L. I. 325.

Sallust next proceeds to expatiate on the profligate character of the party in general. He recals to the view their past enormities, in the time of Sylla's Dictatorship, artfully coupling them with their present vices; and thence he infers, that it is the same sanguinary spirit, which they heretofore displayed, that continues to guide them, in the present juncture. He then throws the blame of all the former excesses on the selfishness, cruelty, and tyrannical spirit of the nobles; and, in proof of the natural moderation of Sylla himself, he glances, with considerable address, and some truth, at his conduct, during his Consul-

ship, with Quintus Pompey; that is, when he became first master of Rome, by the defect of Marius and Sulpicius. Page 453.

On this occasion, it is certain that Sylla might easily have seized the sovereign power; but he contented himself with enacting, or amending a few laws against the Plebeian party, and declaring, as public enemies, twelve of his principal opponents. During the rest of the year, his conduct was marked with so much lenity and forbearance, that, on going out of office, he was considered as the champion of order, and of his country. It had been well, had he continued to merit so honourable a character. It was this early moderation, and the height of his subsequent atrocities, that made Velleius Paterculus declare him to be a person, of whom, on his victory, it is impossible to speak with too much praise, or afterwards, with too much abhorrence; *Qui neque ad finem victoriæ satis laudari, neque post victoriam abundè vituperari potest.* L. II. 17. ii.

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(4.) THERE seems to be, in this place, a strange errour of the copyists. It stands in the best editions thus: *At, herculè, nunc, cum Catone, L. Domitio, cæterisque ejusdem factionis, quadraginta Senatores, multi præterea cum spe bonâ adolescentes, sicuti hostiæ mactati sunt;* by which it would seem to be indicated, that Pompey, since the commencement of the contest with Cæsar, had actually put to death forty Senators, and the flower of the Roman youth, together also with Cato, and Lucius Domitius, and many others of their party, whose fate our author so feelingly deplores.

Dark and unintelligible as this passage certainly is, it is singular that an entire silence in regard to it should be observed by the Commentators; men who, on occasions of neither doubt nor difficulty, are seldom sparing of their labours. Even the respectable President de Brosses, to whom the readers of Sallust owe great obligations, fairly passes over it without a remark. The fact is, that nothing can be

Page 453. more groundless than such a charge against Pompey, at this period; for, unless the massacre alluded to be referred to the time of Sylla's Dictatorship, it is impossible to reconcile it to historical truth. It seems wholly owing to an inattention to the context, and to the address, displayed by Sallust, in stating his argument, that Translators have been prevented from seeing it in that point of view.

The Abbé Thyvon is the only editor, who, as far as I know, has adopted this sentiment; and the amendment he proposes is so simple and natural, that, I think, it will hereafter be received by the critics. Instead of the above unintelligible reading, he says, let us substitute the following: *At, herculè,* hinc *cum* Carbone, *L. Domitio, cæterisque ejusdem factionis,* &c.; because *hinc* may be easily supposed to have been mistaken for *nunc,* and, particularly, *Carbone* for *Catone,* by the copyists, as the latter name was so much better known to them. From this improved state of the text the present translation is made. But it surpasses my comprehension, on what principles of Latin syntax, not only the President de Brosses, but likewise Mr Rowe and Mr Cooke (both certainly scholars), should have so rendered the words, as to make *cum* an adverb, instead of a preposition, and Cato (or Carbo) and Domitius the *perpetrators* of the massacre. Mr Cooke's version, which is the closer of the two, runs thus: "But now, when *by* Cato "and Lucius Domitius, and the rest of the same faction, forty Sena- "tors, and many young men of excellent hope, were sacrificed like "victims;" and the translation of Mr Rowe and M. de Brosses are to the same purpose.

Adopting the principle I have already stated, that the massacre, under Pompey's direction, must have taken place in the time of Sylla, we shall find, on an examination of the different persons of the name of Domitius, who lived in this period, that there is but one of them, to whom the assertion of Sallust can possibly apply. The number of these, notwithstanding the silence of Lempriere, and other biographical writers, amounts to at least five.

1st. Lucius Domitius, who was put to death at Rome, with Mucius Scævola, Pontifex Maximus, and several Senators, by order of the younger Marius, while Sylla besieged him in Præneste. See Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. III. 32.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. I. p. 675, Edit. Toll. —Vell. Paterc. L. II. 26.—Liv. Epit. LXXXVI. 2dly. Lucius Domitius, surnamed Ænobarbus; the same, who acted as High-Inquisitor on Milo's trial. See Essay First, p. 35. and Note. He was a man of depraved principles, among the adherents of Pompey, and he commanded one of the wings of his army, at the battle of Pharsalia. His character is more particularly touched in Sect. X. of the present Letter, and Note. 3dly. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. This person was Consul with Messala, A. U. C. 700. Dion. Cass. L. XI. 17. 45. In the civil war, he became the firm friend, and partizan of Cæsar, the centre of whose army he led at Pharsalia. After filling several honourable stations, and lucrative employments, he died during the contest between Augustus and Antony, a few days before the battle of Actium. See Plutarch. in Anton. LXIII. Edit. Reiske. 4thly. Lucius Domitius, of whom very little is known, only that he was at the head of a part of the army in Spain, in the time of Sertorius, and was there defeated, together with Lucius Manlius, by that officer. Plutarch. in Sertor. XII.—Flor. L. III. 22. Some authors name him Marcus. Liv. Epit. XC.—Oros. L. VI. 23. But it is evident, that this Domitius can no more be the person alluded to, than the three foregoing, because he was among the warm partizans of Sylla and Pompey. Page 453.

5thly. Lucius Domitius, surnamed likewise Ænobarbus. He was Consul, with Coelius Caldus, A. U. C. 659, and is mentioned, as having been Prætor in Sicily, by Cicero. Orat. in Verr. V. 3. Plutarch names him simply Domitius, and Valerius Maximus, Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. Being of the party of Marius, he was proscribed by Sylla, and had the command of the army in Africa. Pompey was sent against him by the Dictator, with orders to reduce Africa, where Pompey's usual good fortune conspicuously attended him. In an ac-

Page 453. tion which ensued, the entrenchments of Domitius were stormed, his troops defeated, and himself, either slain, or afterwards put to death by Pompey. On this occasion, Hyarbas, king of Mauritania, was also taken prisoner; and, being cut off by Pompey's order, his crown was bestowed upon Hiempsal. See Plutarch (in Pomp. XII.) and Eutropius (L. V. sub init.), who both concur in the account, that Hyarbas and Domitius were put to death by Pompey in Africa.—It was on his reduction of that continent, that he was saluted by Sylla, at the head of the nobility, *Pompeius Magnus*, or Pompey the Great, by which appellation he was afterwards distinguished.

Notwithstanding the seeming disagreement between Valerius Maximus and Sallust, as to the prænomen of this Domitius, and the silence of Plutarch and Eutropius, concerning that mark of discrimination, yet, from the perfect agreement of all other circumstances, he is certainly the only person, in this period, so called, whose death can be attributed to Pompey, and consequently the only one, that can be alluded to by the historian. To this it needs scarcely be added, that Sallust would be extremely careful, on an occasion like the present, not to bring forward, to the view of Cæsar, either the massacre during the siege of Præneste, or any of the other excesses of the Marian faction. It appears, that the two last-mentioned persons of the name of Domitius have escaped the diligence of Dr Adam, or, at least, they do not seem to me to be clearly distinguished. See Classical Biography, in voc.

In the same manner, it is easy to show, that Carbo is the true reading of the passage, and not Cato, as above-mentioned, there being no person of the latter name, whose death could be laid to the charge of Sylla or Pompey.

From the time of the Social, or Italic war, down to the contest between Pompey and Cæsar, we hear of but three persons of the name of Cato. 1st. Publius Vettius, or Vectius Cato, called, by Velleius Paterculus, Insteius Cato (L. II. 16.). As one of the chiefs of the

Italic league, he defeated the Consul Rutilius, in the action near the river Liris (Appian. Bel. Civil. L. I. p. 637. Edit. Toll.); and was afterwards stabbed, in an extraordinary manner, by his own slave. Sen. de Benefic. L. III. 23.—Macrob. Saturnal. L. I. 11. 2dly. Lucius Portius Cato, who was Consul, A. U. C. 664, with Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great. He fell in the Social war, fighting against the Marsi, in an attempt to storm their entrenchments, at the lake Fucinus. Appian. L. I. p. 642.—Oros. L. V. 17. Liv. Epit. LXXV. 3dly. Marcus Portius Cato, surnamed Uticensis, one of the greatest men of his time, Cæsar's celebrated enemy and rival, and who put a period to his life at Utica. Page 453.

By the substitution of Carbo, therefore, for Cato, the passage is rendered at once forcible and intelligible, as it calls to our recollection the fate of Cn. Papirius Carbo, a well known, if not a respectable character, whose death fixed an indelible stain on Pompey's reputation.

Carbo, in the civil wars, took part with Marius and Cinna, and was pitched upon, by the latter, as his colleague in the Consulship, on the death of Marius, A. U. C. 668. In the following year, they again held the office; and, in 671, Carbo became Consul for the third time, with the younger Marius. During the last-mentioned period, he was several times defeated by Sylla's Lieutenants; till, having retreated with Perpenna to Sicily, and afterwards fled to Africa, he was taken prisoner, in his passage from that continent to Sicily. The persons in his suite, which consisted of many Senators, and some of the most considerable men in Rome, were immediately put to death; but Carbo himself was brought in chains to Pompey. As he had, in Pompey's youth, been his patron, and kind protector, some show of pity or generosity might have been expected: Yet he was openly loaded with both indignity and invective, and then hurried to execution. If Carbo condescended to beg his life, and fairly died the death of a coward, he yet remains a monument of savage cruelty, and black ingratitude

Page 453. in the man, who could so basely, as well as meanly exult, over a fallen enemy, and a benefactor. See Plutarch. in Syll.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. I. p. 684. Edit. Toll.

Carbo's end displayed a conduct almost incredibly abject. As the fear of death was not among the number of Roman weaknesses, it has accordingly been spoken of, by their writers, with the most marked, and universal contempt. Valerius Maximus has curiously preserved the principal circumstances. *Cn. Carbo* (says he) *magnæ verecundiæ est Latinis annalibus; qui, tertio in Consulatu suo, jussu Pompeii, in Siciliâ, ad supplicium ductus, petiit à militibus demissè ac flebiliter, ut sibi alvum levare, priusquam expiraret, liceret; quò miserrimæ lucis usu diutiùs frueretur. Eòque moram traxit, donec caput ejus sordidè in loco sedentis abscinderetur.* He then adds, with great indignation; *Ipsa verba tale flagitium narrantis secum luctantur, nec silentio amica, quia occultari non merentur, nec relatione familiaria, quia dictu fastidienda sunt.* L. IX. 13. ii. *Hoc verò improbior nemo, meo judicio, fuit*, says Cicero; who is willing to forget the horrible conduct of his friend Pompey: But Valerius Maximus, in another place, treats the unhappy Carbo with greater candour and justice. See Cic. Epist. ad Fam. IX. 21.—Val. Maxim. L. V. 3. v.

Thus we perceive the propriety, with which Sallust, in attacking Pompey, without always naming him, gives the prominent instances of this Domitius and Carbo, for the purpose of evincing the sanguinary spirit of the man, as these were acts, which could be attributed to no one but Pompey himself, while he figured as the instrument of Sylla's atrocities.

Our author likewise adds some other circumstances. By the "forty Senators, and the flower of the youth," is evidently meant those unfortunate persons, who suffered under Sylla's first edict, after the war in Italy was brought to a termination. When he had subdued the younger Marius, and entered Rome as a conqueror, he summoned an assembly of the People; and, after haranguing them in a style the

most arrogant and ferocious, and declaring, that he would take signal vengeance on all his enemies, he directly ordered a proscription and massacre of 40 Senators, the most obnoxious to him, together with no fewer than 1600 persons of Equestrian rank. Page 453. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, αὐτίκα βουλευτὰς ἐς τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἀμφὶ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προὔγραφεν. Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. I. p. 682. Edit. Toll. As to the flower of the youth, we cannot but call to our recollection the horrible massacres at Norba, Præneste, and Rome; at which last place, some thousands of Samnites and others (Florus says 4000, but Livy, Plutarch, and Seneca, a far greater number), after surrendering themselves, under a promise of pardon, were miserably butchered in the *Villa Publica*. To so great a height was the massacre carried, that one of Sylla's friends, in despair, ventured to remind him, that some, at least, should be suffered to live, lest his future government should be without subjects; *Vivere aliquos debere, ut essent quibus imperaret!* The whole people of Præneste, in particular, were drawn up unarmed in the fields, and, on a given signal, were massacred by the troops, in cold blood! !—It were to be wished, that the *present day*, among a neighbouring nation, had witnessed no example of similar atrocity.—Lucan feelingly says of the above massacres, alluding to the goddess Fortune, who had a celebrated temple at Præneste, and to whom that place was especially dedicated;

Vidit FORTUNA colonos
Prænestina suos, cunctos simul ense recisos,
Unius populi pereuntem tempore mortis!
Tunc flos Hesperiæ, Latii jam sola juventus
Concidit, et miseræ, maculavit ovilia Romæ!
Pharsal. L. II. 193.

Yet this was the man, who assumed to himself the surname of *Foelix*, on *thus* triumphing over his enemies!

Page 453. By these tragical examples, it is the object of Sallust to prove, that the principles and temper of Pompey, and his faction, are the same; and he with good reason infers, that now, when they are about to be succeeded, by the clemency and magnanimity of Cæsar, it is a change that should be hailed, as auspicious, by the public.

(5.) Our author still continues the same train of thought. By drawing a lively picture of past calamities, he endeavours to fix the odium, which they merit, on his present opponents; intending to show what would once more be the condition of the country, if Pompey, who at this time had been driven to Asia, should unfortunately prevail in the contest.

I believe there then was but one opinion at Rome, in respect to Pompey's real disposition and character, however he may have been represented, by the flatteries of historians. It is absurd to hear Velleius Paterculus, and other writers after him, talk of his vast integrity and moderation; and an ambition only of power, if voluntarily conferred upon him (*Innocentiâ eximius, sanctitate præcipuus . . Potentiæ, quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus*). Tacitus, with his usual impartiality, has given his portrait in a single line. After them, says he (speaking of Marius and Sylla), came Pompey; as bad as either; though a greater dissembler, and with larger professions: *Post illos Cn. Pompeius, occultior, non melior.* Hist. L. II. 38. Those, who knew him best, were well aware, that his ambition was unbounded; that he was cruel, vain, and perfidious, although without judgment, or superior ability; and that had he, instead of Cæsar, become master of the commonwealth, the same bloody executions, which disgraced the domination of Marius and Sylla, would erelong have been renewed. It is to such men as Sallust and Cicero, who were his contemporaries, and real actors in the scenes they describe, that we must look, for an authentic delineation of persons or events, not to the doubtful colouring of after wri-

ters; making, however, a due allowance for the parties they espoused, and the probable impressions, under which their testimony is delivered. Page 453.

Cicero, notwithstanding his indecision in great emergencies, really wished to do what was right; and he thought, in following Pompey, that he acted up to the principle. But, with all his partiality to that commander, which is marked and uniform, he felt a particular abhorrence of this war, from the shocking cruelties, with which he believed it must be terminated, if his friends proved successful. This appears evident from a variety of his Letters; and they fully confirm every thing advanced by Sallust. He was shocked, he says, to hear Pompey continually observing, with an air of superiority, "Sylla could do such, or such a thing, and cannot I do the same?" He plainly saw, that Pompey considered himself now in much the same circumstances, as that conqueror once had been; sustaining by his arms, the cause of the nobility, and of the Senate, and treated as a foe by those, who were in possession of the capital. As he had a firm belief, that the same good fortune was to crown his own efforts, so he made no secret, that he would take the same memorable vengeance on his enemies. It was little doubted, that his first object would be to starve Rome and Italy; to burn and ravage the country; to confiscate the estates, and seize the effects of the rich; and that as to his enemies, he would sweep them, not individually, but by thousands, from the face of the earth! Cicero, on this occasion, has coined two words (*Syllaturire* and *proscripturire*), to express his idea; which, being both verbs of the desiderative kind, are sufficiently significant; but it is impossible to translate them into another language. *Quàm crebrò illud; "Sylla potuit, ego non potero?" Cnæus noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit; εἰδώς σοι λέγω: Nihil ille unquam minùs obscurè tulit... Primùm consilium est, suffocare urbem et Italiam fame; deinde agros vastare, urere, pecuniis locupletum non abstinere.. Ita* Syllaturit *animus ejus, et* proscripturit *diu.. Tanta erat in illis crudelitas, tan-*

Page 454. *ta cum barbaris gentibus conjunctio, ut non nominatim, sed generatim proscriptio esset informata.* Epist. ad Attic. L. IX. 7. 10. XI. 6.—See also L. X. 7. where there is a passage nearly to the same purpose.

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(6.) SOON after the foundation of Rome, when Romulus divided the people into Tribes and Curiæ, he instituted only two orders in the state, Patricians and Plebeians, connected together by the endearing relations of Patrons and Clients. These orders were created, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us, after the example of the Athenian republic; Ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας, ὡς ἄν τις εἰκάσειε, τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἔτι διαμενούσης, τὸ παράδειγμα λαβών. Antiq. Rom. L. II. p. 252. Edit. Reiske. See also Notes on Catiline's Conspiracy, Sect. VI. The Equites or Knights, as a distinct class, were not known until long after; probably, however, during the regal government: For Junius Brutus, the first Consul, caused some of their number to be elected into the Senate. *Patrum numerum, primoribus Equestris gradûs lectis, ad trecentorum summam explevit.* Liv. L. II. 1. But they certainly were of the greatest use in the commonwealth, as an intermediate class of men, between the Patricians and Plebeians.

(7.) THIS is not an accurate translation of the words *Nobiles* and *Ignobiles*, nor have we any correspondent term for them in English. The expressions Patrician and Plebeian, Noble and Ignoble, had a peculiar signification at Rome, to which it is necessary to advert; and, as they are in frequent use with Sallust, as well as every other Roman writer, it may not be improper, for the information of the young student, or English reader, to give some explanation of them in this place. The application of the epithets, even among scholars, has sometimes been misunderstood, from a want of attention to the great political difference between modern states, and the Roman republic.

The title of Patrician, at Rome, belonged exclusively to those families, whose ancestors had been elected into the Senate, either by the antient Kings of Rome, or by the first Consuls, before the People had obtained admission to public honours, and, by consequence, into that assembly. All other families, however considerable by their wealth, or eminent for their services, were named Plebeian. Those, who themselves, or whose ancestors (whether Patrician or Plebeian), had borne any *Curule* offices, that is, the offices of Consul, Prætor, Censor, or Curule Ædile, were denominated Noble, and had the right of making images of themselves *(Jus Imaginum)*; which images were usually composed of wax, and painted. They were preserved, with great veneration, by their posterity, and generally carried forth in their funeral processions. Plin. Hist. Natur. L. XXXV. 2. &c. Page 454.

From this account it is apparent, that Patrician and Plebeian were the terms opposed to each other, and that Noble was considered as common to both. It was very possible for a man, at Rome, to be a Patrician, and not Noble, in the same manner that a Plebeian, in point of nobility, might surpass the most distinguished Patricians: For nobility was estimated, in exact proportion to the number of Curule magistracies, which any family could boast of having filled. When a man of Plebeian race, which never had become Noble, first aspired to public honours, he was called a New man *(Novus homo)*. Both Cicero and Sallust were of that description, being of families that, until their time, had been only Equestrian; and the former, who greatly valued himself on his original rank, used to boast of it in his speeches, and call himself *Eques Romanus*, and *Homo per se cognitus*.

In translations of the classics into English, or, indeed, in treating, in any shape, of Roman affairs, Patricians, Nobles, and men of Birth, are all used by us as expressions of the same import, and Plebeians, however improperly, as often opposed to them all. This arises from the nature of the language. According to the British constitution, there are but two distinctions of ranks in the community, that of Pa-

Page 455. 456. tent Nobility, if they may be so called, and of Commoners; and when an individual, without a title, rises to the former rank, he enters, at once, into all its immunities. The language, therefore, being adapted to that state of things, has no *separate* terms to denote the actual Patrician and Plebeian of Rome, or those who were possessed of Nobility, and those who were without it. But the sense of an antient author can seldom be misunderstood, if the above mentioned distinctions be only kept in view.

(8.) THE usual reading of this passage is, *Humillimus quisque, in armis, aut militiâ, nullius honestæ rei egens, satìs sibi, satìque patriæ erat.* I entirely agree with the learned Douza, and some other critics, in the opinion, that it should be *In agris* (or *arvis)*, *aut militiâ*, and I have so translated it. *In armis, aut militiâ*, is a sort of tautology, inconsistent with the vigour and brevity of Sallust, and of which there are few or no examples to be found in his writings.

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(9.) THIS advice, we find, in regard to encreasing the number of the citizens, and forming colonies abroad, was not neglected by Cæsar, when he had leisure to apply to the internal regulation of the commonwealth. He settled 80,000 citizens in colonies beyond the seas, particularly at Carthage and Corinth, which cities he directed to be rebuilt; a remarkable circumstance, says Plutarch; for, having both formerly been taken and demolished, at the same period (by Scipio and Mummius), they were thus destined, at the same period, to be restored; Αἷς καὶ πρότερον τὴν ἄλωσιν, καὶ τότε τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀμφοτέραις γενέσθαι συνέτυχε. In Cæs. LVII. Edit. Reiske. See also Sueton. in Cæs. XLII.—Dion. Cass. L. XLIII. 50.

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(10.) As Livius Drusus is a name, which is celebrated in the Ro-

man annals, it will be worth while, in giving an idea of the man, Page 456. to throw back our view to the state of the two parties, that agitated the commonwealth, about the middle of the 7th century of the City; the time when Drusus flourished.

Previously to the age of the Gracchi, the Patricians and the Equites had, in general, pretty cordially united in resisting the arbitrary claims, and tumultuous proceedings of the People; and, in fact, without such a concurrence, it was not possible that the privileges of either order could long have subsisted. It was, therefore, a stroke of consummate policy in Sempronius Gracchus, to detach the Equestrians from the Senatorian interest. The bench of judicature, at that period, was filled by Senators only. By a popular law, preferred by Gracchus, the power of judgment was at once transferred from them, and vested in the Equestrian order (Vell. Paterc. L. II. 6.); a severe blow unquestionably to the Senate, which was thereby reduced, in all judicial proceedings, and particularly in all matters of public delinquency, to submit to the judgment, and lie at the mercy, of their inferiors. It is true, the Nobles had scandalously abused this important trust. In their hands already were the honours of the magistracy, and the government of the Provinces; and if to these were added the possession of the Tribunals, what was it but the perfect licence to indulge in tyranny, in rapine, and in extortion, without the possibility of being called to an account?

In this situation of affairs, Servilius Cæpio, who was Consul A. U. C. 647, procured a modification of the law of Gracchus, enabling the Prætor of the City to name some of the Judges from the Senatorian order: But the Sempronian enactment continued in force, until the injustice and partiality of the Knights themselves, by rousing the public discontent, seemed to call aloud for reformation. The Senate, on this, had recourse to Livius Drusus, who was Tribune of the People A. U. C. 662; and he undertook, if not to abolish the law of Grac-

Page 456. chus, at least to procure an equitable addition to the number of Senatorian Judges.

Drusus, by the acknowledgement of all parties, was a man of unblemished character, alike respectable for his birth and education, for his wealth and his eloquence. Ἀνὴρ ἔστε γεγονὼς τινὸς Ῥωμαίων, ἔστε τεθραμμένος χεῖρον· ἤδη δὲ καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ πλούτῳ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τίμωμένοις καὶ δυναμένοις ἀπὸ τούτων ἐνάμιλλος. Plutarch. in C. Gracch. VIII. Edit. Reiske. *Vir nobilissimus, eloquentissimus, sanctissimus; melior in omnia ingenio animoque, quàm fortunâ usus.* Vell. Paterc. L. II. 13. In his first attempts he was principally opposed by the younger Cæpio, another of the Tribunes, who had espoused the popular interest. Not content with corruption, and clamour, and other arts of political intrigue, they frequently proceeded to actual violence; and to such a height were fierceness and animosity carried on either side, that the parties sometimes appeared, like two hostile armies, in the Forum, with flying colours, and in regular array drawn up against each other. *Signa, et aquilæ et vexilla aderant: Sic, in unâ urbe, quasi in binis castris dissidebatur.* Flor. L. III. 17.

Drusus had recourse to the old expedient of Frumentarian grants, and Agrarian regulations; by which means he proposed not only to baffle the efforts of Cæpio, by first serving, and ingratiating himself with the People, but to ensure the accomplishment of his original design. Besides, he thought that he had a glorious opportunity of balancing the power, and consolidating the interests of all parties. By the laws which he preferred, it was declared, in favour of the Patricians, that they were to share, equally with the Knights, in the judicial office; and in favour of the Knights, that 300 of their number should be added to the Senate. In order to gratify the People, colonies were planted in various parts of Italy and Sicily, and supplies of corn distributed, at a low price, among the poorer class of citizens.

The distrust of the Senate was soon awakened against Drusus. The members of that body had neither patriotism to enter into his views,

nor confidence to place in his sincerity. As Sallust says, *De Druso juxtà ac de sese existimaverunt.* In fact, he shared the fate of those, who, labouring for the benefit of all parties, unluckily obtain the favour of none. The Senate was more dissatisfied, that 300 of the Knights should usurp its rank, and share in its privileges, than that the power of the Tribunals should be imperfectly restored. The Knights thought themselves less honoured by a partial elevation to the Senatorian rank, than they were injured by the loss of their judicial authority, and an abolition of the emoluments they had hitherto derived from it; and among the People, who were delighted, in general, with the distribution of grain, and the planting of colonies, there were still numbers, who dreaded the last-mentioned regulation; as they might, by that means, be deprived of the public lands, which they irregularly possessed, and which had never been measured out to them. Page 456.

In this emergency, Drusus called in the aid of the Italian states, proposing that they should obtain the freedom of Rome; and, thus reinforced, he trusted he should bear down all opposition. It was a curious spectacle, to see the different parties in the state appearing to espouse an interest so opposite to their character; the Senate opposing Drusus, its natural champion; and Drusus seeming to come forth as the patron of the allies, and a popular demagogue.

The multitudes, that flocked to the city, were prodigious. The whole people of Italy seemed, like a band of hostile invaders, to be assembled at its gates *(Ut hostium adventu obsessa civitas videretur)*; and all were anxious to participate an honour, to which, beyond question, they were fairly entitled. In a tumultuous assembly, the laws of Drusus were accordingly passed: But, the very same day, he was assassinated by Quintus Varius, as he returned home, and in the court-yard of his own house, though surrounded by his friends and clients. The Consul Marcius Philippus, and the Tribune Cæpio, his two principal enemies, were universally supposed to have been secret instigators to the deed. It is singular that no step was ever taken to bring

Page 456. the murderer to justice. For these various particulars, See Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. III. 33.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 6. 8. 13. 14. 15.—Liv. Epit. LXXI.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. pp. 630—632. Edit. Toll.—Flor. L. III. 17.—Aurel. Vict. LXVI.

That the intentions of Drusus might be pure, is certainly possible: But his pretensions were more innocent, than his method of promoting them. He used to say, that he had left no means of corruption untried, unless the very dirt and air should be used as such by others; an abominable sentiment, as Cicero justly observes, and unworthy to be uttered in a free country. *Estat vox ipsius, Nihil se ad largitionem ulli reliquisse, nisi quis aut coenum dividere vellet, aut cœlum.* Flor. L. II. 17. His patriotism, it must also be allowed, was too frequently disgraced by the pursuit of objects, calculated solely for his own private aggrandizement. That he himself was of another opinion appears from the last words he pronounced, after receiving the assassin's stroke (and which Velleius Paterculus repeats, in order, as usual, to flatter Tiberius); "And when will the Commonwealth, my friends, again behold such another citizen?" *Ecquando, propinqui amicique, similem mei civem habebit respublica?*

On the death of Drusus, all his laws *(Leges Liviæ)* were at once abolished by the Senate; *Uno versiculo Senatûs puncto temporis sublatæ sunt.* De Legg. L. II. 6. The distribution of lands, and the planting of Colonies, never took place. The judicial power continued, for the present, with the Equestrian order; and the Italic states, who had now fixed their wishes on the freedom of the City, considered the loss of their patron as nothing less than a signal for revolt. They determined to extort, by violence, what as a boon they were unable to obtain; and this gave rise to the Social, or Italic war, one of the most destructive contests in the history of the republic. In the short space of two years, some of the best blood of Rome was spilt; 300,000 men fell in the field; and the Romans, though they may be said to have prevailed in the struggle, were obliged to grant the freedom of the City,

first to their friends and allies, and, at length, without reserve, to the whole of Italy. Page 456.

The house of Drusus, on Mount Palatine, afterwards purchased by Crassus from the heirs of the Tribune, was sold to Cicero, who made use of it as his ordinary town residence. During his exile, in consequence of the machinations of Clodius, it was demolished by the mob, and rebuilt, on the recal of the former, at the public expense. It was in originally constructing this house, when the architect, to show his skill, assured Drusus it should be such, that no neighbour could overlook him, or be able to discover what was passing within, that he made the celebrated reply: Nay, said he, rather exert your whole ability in so contriving it, that all the world may be able to witness what I am doing! *Cùm ædificaret domum in Palatio, in eo loco, ubi est, quæ quòndam Ciceronis . . promitteretque ei architectus, ita se eam ædificaturum, ut libera à conspectu, immunisque ab omnibus arbitris esset, neque quisquam in eam despicere posset: Tu verò, inquit, si quid in te artis est, ita compone domum meam, ut, quidquid agam, ab omnibus perspici possit.* Vell. Paterc. L. II. 14. fin.

(11.) This was a salutary advice, by the neglecting of which Cæsar fell, in the infancy of his career, when he had begun only to confer the most solid benefits on his country. The same sentiments, we know, were entertained by his two friends, Hirtius and Pansa, who often admonished him, that, as it was by force of arms he had risen to the supreme rank, so it was by the same method that his power was to be consolidated, and its permanency secured. But he always nobly replied, that death to him was far less terrible than suspicion, and a life of perpetual disquietude. He probably thought, with an elegant philosopher, that the safety of a munificent prince is sufficiently insured by the gratitude which he inspires; arms and guards being the mere trappings of state, and useful only as the ornaments of his station. *Laudandum experientiâ consilium est Pansæ, atque Hirtii, qui sem-*

Page 457. *per prædixerant Cæsari, ut principatum, armis quæsitum, armis teneret. At ille dictitans, mori se, quàm timeri malle* . . Vell. Paterc. L. II. 57. Εἰπὼν, ὡς βέλτίον ἐστιν ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ ἀεὶ προσδοκᾷν. Plutarch. in Cæs. LVII. *Princeps, suo beneficio tutus, nihil præsidiis eget; arma ornamenti loco habet.* Sen. de Clem. L. I. 13.

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(12.) WHETHER Sallust smiled, when he penned this grave admonition, in the midst of Rome, and in the commencement of the 8th century of the republic, we have no means of knowing; but there is little doubt that Cæsar must have smiled, on perusing it. Our author himself, as we have seen from his Life, possessed no Stoical insensibility to the charms of gold; and it was almost as much by its sovereign influence, as by his own superior genius, that his patron Cæsar had become master of the Roman world. He had bribed the Consul Lucius Paulus, with 1500 Talents, about L.279,500. He had bought over Curio, at the expense of L. 484,373 *(Sexcenties Sestertium)*: And, when he stood candidate for the Priesthood, together with Catulus and Isauricus, and had like to have succeeded against both, by mere dint of corruption, Catulus thought, by an immoderate bribe, profered to himself, to put an end to the contest; but Cæsar calmly told him, that, instead of accepting his money, he would rather borrow still larger sums, in order to carry the election; Ὁ δὲ καὶ πλείω προσδανειζόμενος ἔφη διαγωνιεῖσθαι. Plutarch. in Cæs. VII. Edit. Reiske.

To both Sallust and Cæsar, therefore, the sentiments contained in this, and the following Section, must have appeared abundantly extravagant. Abstractly excellent they unquestionably are, and even elegantly expressed; but they would naturally be classed with those pleasing declamations, which men of the world, although they could not but approve, would never once dream of reducing to practice. When our author gravely beseeches his patron, "in the first place, to lower riches in the common estimation" *(Ergo, in primis, auctoritatem pe-*

cuniæ demito), we must not suppose the former to believe, that he asked any other than an actual impossibility; which, had it not been such, would have produced no benefit at Rome, in the then state of the commonwealth. To restore order, to correct abuses, to give vigour to the laws, and authority to the government, these were enterprises worthy of the attention and ambition of Cæsar, who had too much discernment not to distinguish between the useful hints towards such objects, which the present Letter contains, and any visionary schemes for altering the settled habits, and opinions of men. He knew, that the age of Curius and Fabricius was long since past, and that neither ingenious theories, nor even arbitrary power, were able to restore it. Page 458.

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(13.) The Judges at Rome were Assessors, or assistants to the Prætor, before whom criminal trials, and, in general, trials for delinquency of any sort, were conducted. From the dignity of the office, and the extraordinary influence it conferred, it was the constant object of the Senators and Equestrian order, to procure it to be filled by themselves; and hence it became a source of greater contention, than almost any other circumstance that could be named, in the history of the city.

At first, the Judges were elected from among the Senators; then, by the Sempronian law of C. Gracchus, only from the Knights; afterwards, by the Servilian law of Cæpio, from both orders; then, by the Glaucian law, only from the Knights again. The Livian laws, or the laws of Drusus, transferred the election to the Senators and Knights jointly: But these enactments being but of short duration, it was again restored to the Knights. The next alteration, that took place, was by the Plautian law of Silvanus, in consequence of which the Judges were chosen from both the Senators and Equites, and some of them likewise from the Plebeians; afterwards, by the Cornelian law of Sylla, from the Senators exclusively; by the Aurelian

Page 459. law of Cotta, from the Senators, the Equites, and the Tribuni Ærarii; by the Julian law, only from the Senators and Knights; and, by that of Antony, even from the officers of the army.

The number of the Judges, in consequence of these different enactments, varied from time to time, from 300 to 500. By the ordinances of Cotta and Cæsar, which subsisted in the time of Sallust, the number was about 300; but, under the Emperors, according to our author's proposal, it was greatly encreased; and Cæsar, in consonance to the same idea, and with a view to keep the Tribunals as pure as possible, confined the election to the Senators and Knights; Ὅπως τὸ καθαρώτατον ὅτι μάλιστα ἀεὶ διικάζοι. Dion. Cass. L. XLIII. p. 226. See Sueton. in Cæs. XLI. In August. XXXII.—Plin. Hist. Nat. L. XXXIII. 7. &c. &c.

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(14.) THERE is no passage in the whole of these Letters, that manifests, more clearly than this, the violence of Sallust's political principles, and his dislike to the Patrician party. Our respect for his understanding will not suffer us to believe, that he could deliberately recommend to his patron an adoption of the law of Gracchus, which went nearly to establish the right of universal suffrage, in the popular assemblies, without regard to rank or fortune, and which, had it been carried into effect in the days of its author, would have proved the severest blow, ever given, to the constitution of the commonwealth. It would have been to abolish, at once, the political system of Servius Tullius, to whose wisdom it may be truly said, that the Romans were indebted for their power and grandeur. That judicious monarch had divided the citizens, according to the value of their estates, into Six Classes, and each Class into Centuries, of which the numbers were unequal, that of the first class containing by far the greatest proportion. Each century possessed, in the aggregate, the same fortune, and they contributed alike to the expenses of the state (*Belli pacis-*

que munia pro habitu pecuniarum fiebant) : But in a century of the first class, a few persons only were included, whereas in one of the others, it required a considerable number to make up the stated sum. As the first class comprised no fewer than 98, or, according to some authors, 100 centuries, it furnished more men and money, for the public service, than all the rest put together; and they had also a preponderant influence in assemblies of the People, when called together by centuries. Page 459.

The sixth class was made up chiefly of those, who had no fortunes at all, a description of persons always numerous at Rome. They were called *Capite censi*, that is, rated by the head, and from them, of course, no taxes could be levied. The citizens of the first class were, on the other hand, named *Classici*, by way of pre-eminence, while those of all the others were said to be *Infra classem*, below the rank of this distinguished class. Hence the expression, commonly in use, of *Auctores classici*, Classical authors, or writers of the first-rate consideration and authority. See Aulus Gellius (L. VIII. 13.), where he traces both expressions to the time of Cato the Censor.

This institution of Servius Tullius was, at first, extremely acceptable to the people, as they could not fail to perceive, that the weight of public burdens was thereby taken from themselves, and thrown upon their superiors. But that politic and judicious prince, perceiving that those, who contributed the most to the revenue of a state, and were most interested in its welfare, should also possess the greatest share in its government, had so ordered it, that political influence, in his system, should bear an exact proportion to the possession of property. The method, therefore, of voting in the assemblies by centuries, in which the most momentous affairs were usually transacted, was to begin by taking the suffrages of the 80 centuries of the first class, and that of the 18 centuries of the Equites, always conjoined with them, making, in all, 98 centuries; and, if they were unanimous, the question was decided. If it happened otherwise, the votes

Page 459. of the centuries of the second class were called, and so regularly downwards, until a majority of the whole agreed in opinion. This mode of voting was what the dangerous law of Gracchus, so much applauded by our author, aimed at abolishing, and permitting the centuries of all the lower classes to vote equally with their superiors, as the ballot should determine.

Whatsoever partiality may be entertained, by its admirers, for the Republican form of government, it must ever be rash and inconsiderate, to place any power in the hands of the rabble. Livy, who was a keen republican, and could not be reconciled to the despotism of Augustus, acknowledges the obligations, which the Romans lay under to Servius Tullius, and the consequent respect, and gratitude of posterity. *Ut, quemadmodum Numa* (says he) *divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Servium, conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæque aliquid interlucet, posteri famâ ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio.* L. I. 42. When power is committed to the populace, instead of restoring the *natural* rights of men, what is it but a wild attempt to establish an equality, which nature never meant, and which, accordingly, can no longer endure, than the phrenzy of the moment, to which it may be indebted for its birth?

That all human endowments, bodily or mental, are *unequal* by nature, and, consequently, that our condition must share in the same character, Sallust perfectly knew; and he was aware that they could be equalized, by no effort of art. His own sentiments on the point are unequivocally expressed in various parts of his writings. We need only turn back to Sect. VII. of the present Letter, to see the strong terms, in which he reprobates the idea of entrusting the multitude with any influence in the state. *Hæc igitur multitudo, primùm malis moribus imbuta, deinde in artes, vitasque varias dispalata, nullo modo inter se congruens, parum mihi quidem idonea videtur, ad capessendam rempublicam.* Yet such is political consistency! He here

recommends to his patron the adoption of the principle, which he had, just before, so decidedly condemned. By Cæsar we well know that it would be received, as the mere cant of the party, not as the real opinion of its author; and, like the notable scheme for abolishing the influence of money, as unworthy the regard of any man of sense. Page 460.

(15.) THE younger Seneca, who, like Tacitus, frequently imitates, or borrows from Sallust, has, in his treatise *De Beneficiis*, the same sentiment; but it is there much more dilated, than in the hands of our author. "*Nequitiæ fructus concupiscitur, ipsa verò odio pudorique est: Nec quisquam tantùm à naturali lege descivit, et hominem exuit, ut animi causâ malus sit. Dic, enim, cuilibet ex istis, qui rapto vivunt, an ad illa, quæ latrociniis et furtis consequuntur, malint ratione bonâ pervenire? Optabit ille, cui grassari, et transeuntes percutere quæstus est, potiùs illa invenire, quàm eripere? Neminem reperies, qui non nequitiæ præmiis, sine nequitiâ, frui malit.* L. IV. 17.

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(16.) MARCUS CALPURNIUS BIBULUS has been already noticed, as the colleague of Cæsar, in his first Consulship (See Essay First, p. 27. Note 81.), and his contemptible character is here ridiculed. He had the misfortune to be Cæsar's colleague, on two former occasions, when they agreed no better than in their Consulship, as Cæsar attracted to himself both the honour and the authority, which should have been shared by both. On the first of these occasions, when Curule Ædiles, they furnished, at their joint expense, the customary shows for the entertainment of the people: But the whole credit of the exhibition was given to Cæsar, while the name of Bibulus was scarcely ever mentioned by the spectators. On this he pleasantly observed, that it happened pretty nearly the same to him, as to the God Pollux. His

Page 460. brother Castor and he had a temple in the Forum, dedicated to both; and yet there was no one, who thought of calling it any thing but the temple of Castor. *Nec dissimularet collega ejus M. Bibulus evenisse sibi, quod Polluci: Ut, enim, geminis fratribus ædes in Foro constituta, tantùm Castoris vocaretur; ita suam, Cæsarisque munificentiam, unius Cæsaris dici.* Sueton. in Cæs. X.

The next joint office, which they held, was the Prætorship, A. U. C. 690: But their cordiality was no greater than before; until at length they became Consuls, in 694, when Cæsar's popularity was at its utmost height. This is the memorable occasion, which is alluded to in the text, by Sallust.

In proposing, at this period, his agrarian law, as stated above (in Note 2.), and his law in favour of the Roman Knights, Bibulus, supported by the whole Patrician phalanx, endeavoured to oppose them. For this purpose, he went down to the Forum, accompanied by Cato and Lucullus, at the moment when Cæsar was haranguing the people; and a most disgraceful riot ensued. Both parties, as usual, had recourse to arms. The Fasces of Bibulus were broken to pieces by the mob; two Tribunes, who had accompanied him, were wounded; and, to complete the mortification and disaster of the Consul, a pot or basket of filth was poured upon his head; Αὐτῷ δέ τις κοπρίων κόφινον ἐκ κεφαλῆς τῇ Βίβλῳ κατεσκέδασε. In this deplorable condition, he made the best of his way to his own house, in which he prudently shut himself up, during the remaining eight months of the year. See Sueton. in Cæs. XX.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. pp. 717. 718. Edit. Toll. —Plutarch. in Pomp. XLVIII. Edit. Reiske.——Dion. Cass. L. XXXVIII. pp. 61. 62.

After the defeat and death of Crassus, Bibulus was appointed governor of Syria, where he conducted himself, against the Parthians, with the same timidity, and want of spirit, which he had manifested on most other occasions. Accordingly Cicero, who knew him well, in writing to Cornificius, congratulates his friend, on obtaining, from

Cæsar, the above-mentioned government; hoping, at the same time, Page 460.
that, without a respectable army, he might not be involved in a Parthian war. But, should that accident take place, says he, before the arrival of the reinforcements, which, I understand, are on their march, and you consequently be at a loss what to do; I trust, at least, you will not forget the valorous example of Marcus Bibulus, who, on the first approach of the same terrible people, retreated, with great presence of mind, to (Antioch) one of his most comfortable, and best fortified towns, and there closely shut himself up, till they had quitted the country. This, however, I mention only in case of need, and that you have no better expedient to suit the emergency. *De Parthici belli suspicione quod scribis, sanè me commovit. Quantum copiarum haberes, cùm ipse conjecturâ consequi poteram, tum ex tuis literis cognovi. Itaque opto, ne se illa gens moveat hoc tempore, dum ad te legiones eæ perducantur, quas audio duci. Quòd, si pares copias ad confligendum non habebis, non te fugiet uti consilio M. Bibuli; qui se oppido munitissimo et copiosissimo tamdiu tenuit, quamdiu in provinciâ Parthi fuerunt. Sed hæc meliùs ex re, et ex tempore constitues.* Epist. ad Fam. L. XII. 19.—See also Ad Attic. L. VI. 8.

In the civil war, that soon after broke out, Bibulus sided with Pompey, who entrusted him with the chief command of the fleet. Being superior in ships to Cæsar, he for some time maintained the command of the sea: But, his fleet being distressed for water and provisions, and himself exhausted with fatigue, he contracted a disease, of which he died, some little time before the battle of Pharsalia. Cæs. de Bel. Civil. L. III. 18.

(17.) This is the same Lucius Domitius, formerly noticed (in Essay First, p. 35, and also in Notes on the present Letter, p. 495), as High Inquisitor on the trial of Milo. He was of the branch of the Ænobarbi, son to Cnæus Domitius, the contemporary of Crassus, the

Page 460. celebrated orator, and distinguished, like almost all the Domitian family, for the utter profligacy of his character.

Domitius was Consul, A. U. C. 699, with Appius Claudius, and one of Cæsar's most inveterate enemies. When the breach took place between Cæsar and the Senate, Domitius was appointed to supersede him, in the province of Transalpine Gaul. Finding himself unable to make any figure in the field, instead of retreating, and joining the army under Pompey, Domitius threw himself into Corfinium, with a considerable force, and some of the principal Senators, in the expectation of being relieved; when he was forced to surrender to the Dictator, who treated the prisoners, and himself in particular, with extraordinary generosity, and nobly dismissed them. Previously to the surrender, Domitius had, in a fit of cowardice and despair, ordered his physician, who was also his slave, to give him a dose of poison: But the slave prudently administered only a soporific draught; and, by disclosing the secret, relieved his trembling master from the terrours of death, and the reproaches he had begun to vent against his own precipitation, on hearing of the unexpected clemency of the conqueror. Notwithstanding this, says Plutarch, he took up arms against his benefactor, and went over to Pompey. Ὁ δ' ἀπογνὺς τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ἤτησε τὸν ἰατρὸν οἰκέτην ὄντα φάρμακον· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ δοθὲν, ἔπιεν ὡς τεθνηξόμενος. μετ' ὀλίγον δ' ἀκέσας τε, Καίσαρα θαυμαστῇ τινι φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἁλωκότας, αὐτὸς αὑτὸν ἀπεθήνει, καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆ βελεύματος ἠτιᾶτο. τῆ δ' ἰατρῆ θαῤῥύνοντος αὐτὸν, ὡς ὑπνωτικὸν, ὲ θανάσιμον, πεπωκότα, περιχαρὴς, ἀναστὰς ἀπῆει πρὸς Καίσαρα, καὶ λαβὼν δεξιὰν, αὖθις διεξέπεσε πρὸς Πομπήϊον. In Vit. Cæs. XXXIV. Edit. Reiske. Having manned several ships, he sailed to Marseilles, and assumed the command of that place, which he obstinately defended against Cæsar's Lieutenants.

At the battle of Pharsalia, as has been already said, Domitius commanded the left wing of Pompey's army. After the day was lost, in flying from the camp, to the neighbouring mountains, he became

faint from fatigue and heat, and was dispatched by some horsemen, Page 460.
who had pursued the fugitives. He is the only person of all the Pompeian party, whose death Cæsar particularly commemorates. For these various particulars, See Cæs. de Bel. Civil. L. I. 23. 34. III. 99. &c.—Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. XVI. 12.—Sueton. in Cæs. XXXIV. In Neron. II.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 741—790. Edit. Toll. —Plutarch. in Cæs.—Dion. Cass. L. XLI. 21. et seqq.—Lucan. L. II. & VII.

In regard to the character and qualities of Domitius, they seem to be pretty fairly given by Sallust, in the present passage; *Lingua vana, manus cruentæ, pedes fugacès.* Suetonius gives him those of inconstancy and cruelty. In Neron. II. In Essay First, Note 7, on page 35, I have stated, that Cicero by no means commends Domitius in his writings; for what we find in the oration for Milo, and in that against Vatinius, but particularly the former, are merely expressions of official compliment, and little to the purpose. I therefore cannot entirely agree with Dr Adam, in thinking Cicero inconsistent, as to the character of this man, whom he clearly considers as weak and unprincipled. In the 1st. Epistle of the 8th Book of his Letters to Atticus, he says, deliberately and *ex animo,* in addressing his friend, *Nemo nec stultior est quàm L. Domitius, nec inconstantior quàm Appius Claudius;* and, in another place (Ad Fam. L. VI. 21.), where he observes, that those wise and valiant men, the Domitii and the Lentuli, thought him weak and timid, because he had entertained just, and well-founded apprehensions, *Ego, quem fortes illi viri, et sapientes, Domitii et Lentuli, timidum esse dicebant,* I should rather be inclined to consider him as speaking a little ironically, than as appearing so strongly at variance with himself.

Lucan, indeed, out of servility to Nero, who was the descendant of Domitius in the fourth degree, cautiously conceals the terrours he displayed, at both Corfinium and Pharsalia, and strives, on all occasions, to hold him up as a perfect model of fortitude and heroism.

Page 460. Instead of the command of the left, he calls it that of the right wing of the Pompeian army, which he had at Pharsalia; representing him, in contempt of historical truth, as bravely falling in the field of battle, instead of being overtaken in the flight, before "liberty," as he says, had yet "expired," and without standing in need of a "second pardon" from the conqueror; that is, before he had had time to disgrace himself by fresh ingratitude! Not content with this, the poet even makes Cæsar upbraid his despicable foe, as he lies prostrate on the ground, and Domitius, before he expires, to pronounce a fine reply! These are the fictions of a degenerate age.—But the acts themselves, in respect to the persons, to whom they are attributed, are as inconsistent with the generosity of the one, as with the base, and pusillanimous spirit of the other.

Hic patriæ perit omne decus; jacet aggere magno
Patricium campis, commixtâ plebe, cadaver.
Mors tamen emicuit, clarorum in strage virorum,
Pugnacis Domitî; quem clades fata per omnes
Ducebant. Nusquam Magni fortuna sine illo
Succubuit; victus toties à Cæsare, salvâ
Libertate perît: Tunc mille in vulnera lætus
Labitur, ac veniâ gaudet caruisse secundâ.
Viderat in crasso versantem sanguine membra
Cæsar, et increpitans; "Jam Magni deseris arma,
Successor Domitî; sine te jam bella geruntur."
Dixerat: Ast illi suffecit pectora pulsans
Spiritus in vocem, morientiaque ora resolvit. . .
. . . . . Non plura locutum
Vita fugit, densæque oculos pressere tenebræ.
Pharsal. L. VII. 597.

(18.) The Declaimer, who personates Sallust, in the invective oration, supposed to be pronounced by him against Cicero, has copied a considerable part of this passage, and made a most absurd applica-

tion of it, in painting the imaginary vices of the great orator. *Immo verò homo levissumus, supplex inimicis amicis, contumeliosus, modò harum, modò illarum partium, fidus nemini, levissumus Senator, mercenarius patronus, cujus nulla pars corporis à turpitudine vacat; lingua vana, manus rapacissumæ, gula immensa, pedes fugaces; quæ honestè nominari non possunt, inhonestissuma.* Sect. III. Page 461.

(19.) THE striking difference has been already noticed, between the cold, and negative strain of commendation, in which our author here speaks of Cato, and the exquisite portrait he has drawn of him, in Catiline's Conspiracy. But let it be observed, that he mentions Cato as alive at this period, which could not have been the case, had the other Epistle been the first of the two, because it was certainly composed after the close of the civil war, and most probably during the siege of Alexandria.

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(20.) POSTHUMIUS and Favonius being considered only as *ballast*, in the Patrician cargo embarked with Pompey, it cannot be expected, that what is found upon record concerning them should be very interesting. Of the former we know nothing, as writers of that day are entirely silent on his subject: But his companion Favonius has chanced to obtain somewhat greater celebrity, a vain imitator of the dress, and manners, and sentiments of Cato; whence his contemporaries gave him the name of *Simia Catonis*. His aim was to appear, like that great man, a Stoic philosopher; but he was only an empty, and violent enthusiast, not a rational follower of his model. He considered, it seems, the dignity of Roman Senator as of little value, in comparison with a sort of cynical freedom of saying every thing he pleased: And such was the vehemence and pertinacity, with which he retailed his wisdom, or his wit, that to stop his career was extremely difficult. Still, says Plutarch, he proved not

Page 461. unentertaining to those, who could laugh at the man, and bear with his impertinence. Μάρκος δὲ Φαώνιος, ἑραστὴς γεγονὼς Κάτωνος, ὁ λόγῳ μᾶλλον, ἢ φορᾷ τινι καὶ πάθει μανικῷ, φιλοσοφῶν . . Ἀλλ' ἔργον ἦν ἐπιλαβέσθαι Φαωνίῳ πρὸς ὁτιοῦν ὀρέξαντος· σφοδρὸς γὰρ ἦν ἐν πᾶσι καὶπρόχειρος. ἐπεὶ τό γε βουλευτὴν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων ἑαυτὸν ἀδενὸς ἄξιον ἡγεῖτο, τῷ δὲ κυνικῷ τῆς παῤῥησίας πολλάκις ἀφῄρει τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ τὸ ἄκαιρον αὐτῷ μετὰ παιδιᾶς δεχομένων. In Brut. XXXIV. Edit. Reisk. Both Cicero and Plutarch make frequent mention of him, as a busy meddler, who seldom failed to perplex the business of any of his friends, in which he interfered.

The best thing he ever said seems to have been to Pompey, who had absurdly boasted, that he could, in a moment, by only stamping on the ground, in any part of Italy, produce a force much greater than was necessary to check the ambition of Cæsar. Cæsar, however, soon after, not only entered Italy, but surprised Rome; and when Pompey, to the astonishment of his friends, pusillanimously resolved to abandon it, Favonius did not fail to remind him of his former confidence. Stamp now, said he, with your foot upon the ground, as you lately told us, and conjure up an army only sufficient for our protection! Φαώνιος μὲν Πομπήϊον ἐπισκώπτων τῷ ποτὲ λεχθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, παρεκάλει τὴν γῆν πατάξαι τῷ ποδὶ, καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναγαγεῖν. Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 741. Edit. Toll.

Favonius, notwithstanding, followed Pompey's party in the civil war, and even adhered to his person with a stedfastness, that would have done honour to a better character. He was present at the memorable actions of both Pharsalia and Philippi, and was among the number of those, who, by their imprudent counsels, helped to precipitate Pompey into the resolution of risking the first-mentioned engagement. After the battle of Philippi, he was brought in chains to Augustus, and cruelly put to death, as one of the accomplices in the assassination of Cæsar. Favonius, however, had no concern in the murder: But it seems, immediately after, he had, with some others,

joined the conspirators, as they rushed, with their drawn swords, out of the Senate-house. The names of the whole were therefore entered on the proscription list; and thus, as Appian observes, they all alike suffered the punishment, without having shared in the glory of the deed; Page 463. 464.

Οἱ τῆς μὲν δόξης οὐ μετέσχον, τῆς δὲ πιμωρίας τοῖς ἁμαρτῆσι συνέτυχον. De Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 819. Edit. Toll.—Concerning Favonius, See Plutarch. in Pomp. & Brut.—Sueton. in August. XIII.—Val. Maxim. L. II. 10. &c.—Appian. ubi sup.

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(21.) THE usual method of voting in the Roman Senate was this. After the Consul, Prætor, or other presiding magistrate had asked the members their opinions, according to their rank, and they had done speaking, he desired those who were of one sentiment, to go over to one side of the house, and those who were of a contrary opinion, to go to the other; and, on counting, or telling the numbers, the majority carried it. The form of words used was, QUI HÆC SENTITIS, IN HANC PARTEM ITE; QUI ALIA OMNIA, IN ILLAM PARTEM. See Pliny (Epist. L. VIII. 14.), where he discusses, at length, a case laid before the Senate. Hence the expression, *Ire pedibus in sententiam alicujus*, to vote according to any one's opinion; and *Discedere*, or *Transire in alia omnia*, for *Contrarium sentire*, to vote against it. See Adam's Rom. Antiq. pp. 12. 16.

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(22.) CÆSAR followed this advice, and encreased the number of the Senators, which, in the present period, was about 400, in consequence of Sylla's augmentation; but the number was considerably lessened by the civil wars. It appears, from Suetonius and Dion Cassius, that Cæsar augmented it to 900, and by no means with much nicety of selection: For, whether yielding to the importunity of friends, or with a view to strengthen his interest, it appears that even

Page 464. soldiers and Freedmen were admitted, to make up the number. Μηδὲν διακρίνων, μήτ' εἴ τις στρατίωτης, μήτ' εἴ τις ἀπελευθέρος παῖς ἦν· ὥστε καὶ ἐννεακοσίους τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. Dion. Cass. L. XLIII. p. 227. See also L. LII. p. 494. Cicero more than once notices the little decency, that was observed in the business, and the consequent discontent among the antient Senatorian families; who were hurt to see their order degraded, and their privileges shared by the lowest members of the community. *Neque enim erat ferendum, cùm qui hodie aruspicinam facerent, in Senatu Romæ legerentur!* Epist. ad Fam. L. VI. 18.

In the confusion, that ensued on Cæsar's assassination, great abuses in this way took place; many admissions being tolerated, merely on the assertion, that they were agreeable to the intentions of the deceased emperor. In the 13th Philippic against Antony, the great orator mentions the circumstance of one man, named Asinius, whom he humorously calls a Volunteer in the ranks of the Senate; for, says he, this personage had the good fortune to be elected by *himself*. On Cæsar's death, finding the doors of the Senate-house standing open, Asinius went home, procured a pair of Senatorian buskins, and, taking his seat among the rest, became a Conscript Father, without further ceremony. *Est etiam Asinius quidam, Senator voluntarius, lectus ipse à se. Apertam curiam vidit, post Cæsaris mortem: Mutavit calceos; Pater Conscriptus repentè factus est.* Sect. 13.

When Augustus had subdued his rivals, and applied himself to the correction of abuses in the government, he, among other things, took care to restore the Senate to its former dignity, by clearing it of improper members. Instead of 1000, of which it at that time consisted, his intention was to reduce them to 300, as in antient times: But, finding the measure unpopular, and the number probably too small for the dispatch of business, he at length fixed it at 600. Dion. Cass. L. LIV. p. 530.—Sueton. in August. XXXV.

(23.) We are told by Asconius Pedianus, in his Commentaries on the Orations against Verres, that this method of voting by ballot, or by the tablet, was, in antient times, practised in the Roman Senate, but not for the object here proposed by Sallust, of securing a freedom of opinion, but in order to prevent the members from altering their sentiments, after they had once delivered them. The method appears to have been something similar to that in use at the *Comitia Centuriata*, in taking the votes, when any new law was to be proposed to the People. Each person had delivered to him two tablets, or small pieces of wood. On the one were inscribed the Letters U. R., that is, Uti Rogas, *sc. volo*, or *jubeo*, I am for the law; and on the other, A. for Antiquo, that is, *Antiqua probo, nihil novi statui volo*, I prefer the old, and am against the new law. See Fest. in voc. See likewise an examination, at length, by Cicero, of the question, whether it be preferable to vote *vivâ voce*, or by ballot, De Legg. L. III. 15. et seqq. Page 464.

An advice, not greatly different from this of Sallust's, was afterwards given, by Mæcenas, to Augustus, after the ridiculous farce of *persuading* that prince, contrary to the counsel of Agrippa, not to abdicate the sovereign power. In cases of importance, said the cautious favourite, I cannot recommend the practice of oral suffrage; as men oftentimes are found delicate in saying what they think, from the apprehension of injuring, or of displeasing their friends. But let each person give his opinion, written on a tablet, to be delivered only to yourself; which, after having perused, you can easily efface: And thus a candid judgment may the more certainly be expected, when once it is understood, that the tablets are to be seen by no eye but your own. Τὰς μέντοι γνώμας αὐτῶν μὴ φανερῶς, ὅσαι γε καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀκριβεστέρας δέονται, διαπυνθάνε (ἵνα μὴ τοῖς προσήκεσι σφῶν ἐφεπόμενοι, κατοκνῶσι παῤῥησιάζεσθαι) ἀλλ' ἐς γραμματεῖα γραφομένας· οἷς αὐτὸς μόνος ἐντυχὼν, ὑπὲρ τῦ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐκδήλες αὐτὰς γίγνεσθαι, εὐθέως αὐτὰς ἀπαλείφεσθαι κέλευε. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ἑκάστε γνώμην δι-

Page 466. ακριβώσειας, εἰ ἀνέλεγτον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πιστεύσειαν ἔσεσθαι Dion. Cass. L. LII. p. 558. Edit. Stephan.

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(24.) THESE sentiments do great honour to Sallust; and I have already noticed them, in Essay First, Note 80, on page 27, and traced the doctrine to a noble passage in the Theætetus of Plato, of whose enlightened followers he probably was the disciple, when he visited Athens.

It is evident, that his intention here is to oppose his own opinions to those of his patron, who, like many of the most eminent among the Romans, inclined to the sect of Epicurus. From Cæsar's speech in the Senate, on the punishment of the accomplices in Catiline's Conspiracy, we find what he thought, concerning the important topics of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments; as it is pretty certain, that the whole substance and strain of reasoning, on that occasion, are preserved by Sallust. "As to capital punishment, he observes, there can be little doubt, that they, who endure misfortune and sorrow, look forward to death as a haven of rest, not as a prelude to torture. The grave they regard as a release from pain and misery: They are assured that it will put a period to human woe; and that neither delight nor suffering can have place, beyond that silent mansion." *De poenâ possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis, mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultrà neque curæ, neque gaudio locum esse.* Sect. L. It must be acknowledged, that the creed of the historian forms a striking contrast to this dark, and comfortless system, and may be truly said to be worthy the dictates of a sublimer philosophy, and of a happier, and better age.

END OF THE NOTES ON EPISTLE FIRST.

NOTES

ON

EPISTLE SECOND,

ADDRESSED TO CÆSAR.

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(1.) THE opening of this Letter, in the editions of Miller and Havercamp, principally used in the present translation, runs thus; *Pro vero antea obtinebat, regna atque imperia Fortunam dono dare; item alia, quæ per mortalis avidè cupiuntur: Quia et apud indignos sæpe erant, quasi per lubidinem data; neque cuiquam incorrupta permanserant.* There is another reading of the passage, which has been adopted by Wasse and others; *Populus Romanus antea obtinebat regna atque imperia fortunam dono dare; item alia, quæ per mortalis avidè cupiuntur*, &c.: But the latter sense, by making the proposition less general, does not so well accord with what immediately follows; *Sed res docuit id verum esse, quod in carminibus Appius ait, "Fabrum esse suæ quemque fortunæ."* The former, therefore, seems to be the preferable reading, both as more natural in itself, and more agreeable to the manner of Sallust. Page 469.

Page 470. (2.) THIS was Appius Claudius Crassus, the founder of the Claudian family; the same, who, on account of blindness, with which he was struck in his old age, was surnamed Cæcus. He flourished in the middle of the 5th century of the city, and was Censor, An. 441, together with C. Plautius; at which time he laid the first paved road at Rome, named after him the Appian way, and extending from Rome to Capua; and he also constructed the first Roman aqueduct. Appius was one of the most able, and illustrious men of his time. Such was his influence, that when Pyrrhus, after gaining an important victory over Levinus the Consul, sued for peace at the hands of the Romans, Appius, though then blind, caused himself to be carried to the Senate-house, and by his eloquence dissuaded the Fathers from complying with a request, which he thought dishonourable to the Roman name. For these particulars, See Cic. de Clar. Orator. XIV.—Tucul. Disput. L. V. 38.—Liv. L. IX. 29.—Eutrop. L. II. 4.—Ov. Fast. L. VI. 203.

Appius, though perhaps no poet, left behind him some metrical compositions, containing apothegms and moral precepts, chiefly valuable for the good sense they displayed; and from which our author makes the quotation, *Fabrum esse suæ quemque fortunæ.* We learn, from Cicero, that they were somewhat in the style of the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, and highly commended by Panætius, in his letter to Q. Tubero. See Tucul. Disput. L. IV. 2. Some maxims from them, likewise, are quoted by the Grammarians Festus and Priscian. In the noble portrait of Cato the Censor, given by Livy, in the 39th Book of his history, he may probably have had the above verse of Appius in his eye, when he says; *In hoc viro, tanta vis animi ingeniique fuit, ut, quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur.* Sect. 40.

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(3.) *FACILE imperium est in bonos,* says Plautus; and our au-

thor himself, when describing the emancipation of the Romans from the yoke of their kings, has a sentiment not greatly dissimilar. *Regibus boni quàm mali suspectiores sunt; semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est.* In the beautiful piece, entitled the Panegyric, addressed to the Emperor Trajan, by Pliny, that writer eloquently paints the crimes and vices of a despotic government, which were then but too fresh in his memory; and he illustrates, among other things, the striking preference, often shown to depravity among the governed. Profligate princes, he says, delight more in the vices, than in the virtue and honesty of their subjects. This happens, in the first place, because men never fail to be gratified, in recognizing in others their own likeness: And they are of opinion, in the second place, that those, of course, are the best fitted for subjection, who possess no motive, nor endowment, that should prompt them to be free. It is, therefore, in such characters that all confidence is placed, and on them alone all favours are accumulated. The virtuous, meanwhile, are studiously thrust into retirement, or mortified by neglect; and if they chance, at any time, to come before the world, it is only for the unhappy distinction of being exposed to dangers, or harrassed with prosecutions. *Vitiis potiùs civium, quàm virtutibus lætabantur. Primùm, quòd in alio sua quemque natura delectat; deinde quòd patientiores servitutis arbitrabantur, quos non deceret esse nisi servos. Horum in sinum omnia congerebant; bonos, autem, otio aut situ abstrusos, et quasi sepultos, non nisi delationibus et periculis, in lucem ac diem proferebant.* Sect. XLV. Page 470.

(4.) It is certain, that, on the first successes of Cæsar, a belief generally prevailed of his cruel, and revengeful temper. Cicero himself was strongly possessed with the idea, as we perceive from several of his Letters to Atticus, and other friends. He went so far as to imagine, that he would be a second Phalaris, not a Pisistratus; a bloody, not a gentle tyrant; inferring from the nature of his past life, the object

Page 470. of his enterprise, and, above all, from the character of his followers (who were, many of them, a most pernicious, and needy crew), that his government would bring a renewal of those cruel scenes, which, under Marius, and Sylla, and Pompey, had disgraced, and almost brutalized the Roman character. He declared, that he actually looked forward to public massacres, and private pillage; to the recal of profligate exiles; to the remission of debts; to the prostitution of public honours; and, in one word, to a despotism so intolerable, as not Persian tameness, far less Roman spirit, should be able to endure. *Istum quidem, cujus φαλαρισμὸν times, omnia teterrimè facturum puto . . Incertum est, Phalarimne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus . . Qui hic potest se gerere non perditè? Vita, mores, antefacta, ratio suscepti negotii, socii . . Nam cædem video, si vicerit, et impetum in privatorum pecunias, et exulum reditum, et tabulas novas, et turpissimorum honores, et regnum non modò Romano homini, sed ne Persæ quidem cuiquam, tolerabile.* Epist. ad Attic. L. VII. 12. 20. IX. 2. X. 8. &c.

These apprehensions were not unnatural; as every revolution at Rome, down to this period, had been of the same dismal complexion; lawless, horrible, and drenched in blood. But it is pleasing to see how soon the surrender of Corfinium, as has been already noticed, relieved the public mind, and set Cæsar's character in its true colours. However ill requited his generosity might be, towards such men as Domitius, it convinced the world, that he was indeed a conqueror of a different stamp from his predecessors, and gives ample room for the eulogy of Sallust on this topic. As Cicero said of him, in the words of Euripides, although he considered Tyranny as the greatest of goddesses (Τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα), yet from the observation of past times, and the example of former tyrants, he resolved to give way to his natural temper, and to practise clemency and munificence. To set up the horrid, though secure domination of a Sylla, was, as he himself declared, no part of his plan. As the means he had

adopted were new, for establishing a conquest, so he hoped they would prove successful, not only in prolonging his power, but in conciliating his enemies. *Tentemus hoc modo, si possumus omnium voluntates recuperare, et diuturnâ victoriâ uti. Quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt, neque victoriam diutiùs tenere, præter unum L. Syllam, quem imitaturus non sum: Hæc nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordiâ et liberalitate nos muniamus.* Cæs. Epist. ad Oppium, ap. Ciceron. ad Attic. L. IX. 8. On the part of Cicero it was somewhat malicious, as well as inconsistent, to brand such a conduct with the name of *Insidiosa clementia;* considering what he had just before written to Cæsar, in thanking him for his generosity to Lentulus Spinther, a particular friend, who was among the pardoned nobles at Corfinium; and considering, also, the manly, and handsome style of Cæsar's reply, on that occasion, which is preserved entire among the Epistles to Atticus. See L. IX. 16. & VIII. 16. Page 470.

(5.) *Omnia sunt in bellis civilibus misera* (says Cicero), *sed nihil miserius quàm ipsa victoria; quæ, etiam si ad meliores venit, tamen eos ipsos ferociores, impotentioresque reddit, ut, etsi naturâ tales non sint, necessitate esse cogantur.* That Cæsar, in such delicate circumstances, did acquit himself with great address, was acknowledged even by his enemies, who well knew that no man, at the head of a victorious, and powerful faction, could be considered as accountable for all its irregularities, or even for every public act, that must pass under his name. Were these considerations less cogent, the same able judge, although he cordially hated Cæsar, has made the best apology, that a friend could have offered for his situation. *Bellorum civilium hi semper exitus, ut non solùm ea fiant, quæ velit victor, verùm etiam ut iis mos gerendus sit, quibus adjutoribus parta est victoria.* Epist. ad Attic. L. XII.

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(6.) It would not be easy, in fewer words, or with greater truth of colouring, to give the character of Pompey, although by some writers he is spoken of in terms very different. It appears to me, that there is no individual in history, who has been more extolled beyond his merit, than this distinguished person, whose fortune it generally was, to engage in contests of sufficient splendour, but of little difficulty, or to obtain the command in wars, at a period, when the dangers having been surmounted by other officers, he had only to reap the laurels of victory. The heavy complaints, made against him by Crassus, after the Servile War, are well known; the reproaches of Metellus, on account of his expedition to Crete; and Lucullus's just, but ineffectual indignation, concerning the contest with Mithridates. The fact is, he never had, until the present struggle, encountered an opponent of more than ordinary ability, and good fortune alone, independent of talents, had carried all before it. It was in Cæsar's defeat of Pharnaces (an affair so complete, as well as rapid, that *Veni, vidi, vici,* were the concise expressions he used to describe it), that he first perceived the facility, with which the military reputation of Pompey was acquired. On observing the feeble efforts of the Pontic king, and the great inferiority of his troops, in discipline and valour, to the Roman legions, he is said to have exclaimed, That Pompey indeed had been a fortunate commander, in contests with such men, to have acquired the surname of Great, or the fame and merit of his Asiatic victories. *Ὦ μακάριε Πομπήϊε, τοιούτοις ἄρα, κατὰ Μιθριδάτην τὸν τῷ δὲ πατέρα, πολεμῶν ἀνδράσι, μέγας τε ἐνομίσθης, καὶ Μέγας ἐπεκλήθης.* Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 793. Edit. Toll.

Cicero, in his interesting correspondence with Atticus, speaking of the two rival chiefs, has characterized their conduct in such terms, as sufficiently show the justice of Sallust's delineation; and of the extreme partiality of this great man to Pompey no one will doubt. Our friend Pompey, he says, has nothing in him, that savours of ei-

ther ability or courage: Whereas this prodigy of a leader, this Cæ- Page 471.
sar, is all activity. As to his vigilance, his celerity, and his vigour, they are truly horrible and tremendous! *Nihil actum est à Pompeio nostro sapienter, nihil fortiter .. Sed hoc τέρας* (i. e. Cæsar) *horribili vigilantiâ, celeritate, diligentiâ est!* L. VII. 9. VIII. 3. &c.

(7.) THE persons here alluded to were the heads of the opposite party, such as Cicero, Cato, Marcellus, Lentulus, Metellus Scipio, Domitius. Cæsar (Bel. Civil. L. I.) calls them *Paucorum factio*; an expression constantly used by the popular side, to distinguish their opponents, and very common with Sallust. The chief person, who supported Pompey on account of relationship, was Scipio, whose daughter Cornelia, a most accomplished woman, Pompey had married, on Julia's death. See Essay First, page 31. and Note 95.

Of the whole party Cato and Cicero were the only persons, who, in their political conduct, can fairly be said to have been guided by principle, or patriotic motives. Cicero, after much hesitation, declared for Pompey; not because he was blind to the vanity and weakness of that general (Epist. ad Attic. L. VII. 7. 3. IX. 10. &c.), but because he believed him, on the whole, to have better intentions than his rival; an opinion, however, which he lived to retract. When Cæsar marched for Spain, and Cicero repaired to the adverse army in Greece, Cato sensibly represented to him the injudiciousness of his conduct. For himself, he said, it would have been dishonourable, had he thought of deserting those public principles, and that party in the state, which he had embraced in the beginning. But Cicero certainly might have proved both more serviceable to his friends, and more useful to his country, by remaining at Rome, and prudently accommodating himself to the course of events. Here, he said, he had come over, without reason or necessity, to Greece; thereby openly proclaiming his hostility to Cæsar, and exposing himself to dangers, with which he had nothing to do. Κάτων δ' αὐτὸν ἰδὼν,

ἰδία πολλὰ κατεμέμφετο Πομπηΐῳ προσθέμενον. αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἵλετο τῆς πολιτείας τάξιν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ χρησιμώτερον ὄντα τῇ παδρίδι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, εἰ μένων ἴσα ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβαῖνον ἡρμόζετο, κατ' ἐδένα λογισμὸν, ἐδ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης πολέμιον γεγονέναι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοσέτε μεθέξοντα κινδύνε δεῦρ' ἥκειν. Plutarch in Ciceron. XXXVIII. Edit. Reisk.

The truth is, that Cato, from the beginning, saw through the designs of both Pompey and Cæsar; and, having no opinion of either, he predicted what, in the end, would assuredly happen to himself. When some went over to one party, and some to another, Cato stood firm for the republic, which was left almost without a friend in the quarrel. If Cæsar prevailed, he said, it was clear that he must die: If Pompey proved victorious, he must go into exile. *Cùm alii ad Cæsarem inclinarent, alii ad Pompeium, solus Cato fecit aliquas, et reipublicæ partes . . .Duos videbis in medio relictos, rempublicam et Catonem . . Hanc fert de utroque sententiam: Ait se, si Cæsar vicerit, moriturum; si Pompeius, exsulaturum.* Sen. Epist. CIV.

(8.) CATO the Censor made a remark similar to this, on the common people of his time. He could compare them, he said, to nothing but a flock of sheep. Although to get them singly to stir was next to impossible, yet, all in a body, they were easily moved, and would implicitly follow their leaders. Ἐοικέναι δ' ἔφη προβάτοις τὲς Ῥωμαίες· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα καθ' ἕκαστα μὲν ὲ πείθεται, σύμπαντα δ' ἕπεται μετ' ἀλλήλων τοῖς ἄγεσιν. Plutarch. in Caton. Maj. VIII. It is curious enough that Cicero, in the present juncture, should speak of his own political conduct, in terms not greatly different; a proof that his integrity was greater than his vigour, and that, when beset with difficulties, he was like the irresolute, or the vulgar, and wanted firmness to determine for himself. When he followed Pompey, he felt that he was running, precisely as one among a herd of cattle, which, like the sheep, if driven by force, always follow after their kind. As the

ox, he says, follows the herd, so do I follow the honest, or at least those, who have the credit of passing for such, although it be to certain ruin. *Quid ergo acturus sum? Idem quod pecudes, quæ dispulsæ sui generis sequuntur greges. Ut bos armenta, sic ego bonos viros, aut eos, quicunque dicentur boni, sequar, etiam si ruent.* Epist. ad Attic. L. VII. 7. Page 471

We may fairly believe that the virtues, and the inclinations of men, in this period, at Rome, did not greatly differ from those of the present day; and that few, on either side, possessed the purity of Cato, or were disturbed with the scruples of Cicero. Cœlius, a young man of excellent parts, and, though of libertine principles, a great favourite with the latter, gives, perhaps, the truest view of the motives, that really guided the majority, and would probably guide them still, in whatever age or country the same scenes were to be acted. There is a material difference, as he observes, in a letter to Cicero, between civil dissentions, carried on by caballing and debating, and at the point of the sword. While you can confine the combatants to the war of words, it is very well to respect the justice of either side, and it is right that you should manfully, and pertinaciously maintain it. But, when real war is in question, the *stronger* party will generally be followed; and what is safest will be deemed most honourable, by every man of sense. *Illud te non arbitror fugere, quin homines in dissensione domesticâ debeant, quamdiu civiliter sine armis cernetur, honestiorem sequi partem. Ubi ad bellum et castra ventum sit, firmiorem; et id melius statuere, quod tutius sit.* Epist. ad Fam. L. VIII. 14. Cœlius maintained a regular epistolary correspondence with Cicero, whose ward and pupil he had formerly been, and used to write him when absent, all the news of Rome. His Letters compose the 8th Book of the Familiar correspondence of Cicero; and if they are not always the most profound, they are perhaps the most spirited and entertaining of the whole collection.

Page 472. (9.) WHAT is here said in the text is no rhetorical flourish of our author, but is really founded in fact. The party, that opposed Cæsar, took great pains, in order to weaken his cause, to propagate a report, that he had formed the design, if victorious, of publishing a remission of debts; of giving a licence to pillage; of drawing up tables of proscription, &c.; which wrought, to their astonishment, an effect very opposite to that which they intended. The needy, the desperate, and the idle, in vast numbers joined his standard, in the hope, as in former distractions, to rise to affluence and power; and thus, instead of weakening, his enemies, for a time, only augmented his force. Cœlius, before this, had easily perceived by what sort of partizans the two chiefs were to be supported. Pompey, at first, was probably to have with him the Senate, together with the better sort of all ranks; while those, on the other hand, and no inconsiderable number, who were haunted with fear, or who lived on hope, would be sure to embrace the party of Cæsar. In regard to their armies, there could be no manner of comparison between them. *In hâc discordiâ video, Cn. Pompeium Senatum, quique res judicant, secum habiturum; ad Cæsarem omnes, qui cum timore, aut malâ spe vivant, accessuros. Exercitum conferendum non esse.* Epist. ad Fam. L. VIII. 14.

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(10.) SENECA has given a good picture of a prince, who makes munificence and clemency the rule of his conduct; and many of the qualities he describes may, without injustice, be applied to the great man, to whom these Epistles are addressed. *Qui potentiam suam placidè ac salutariter exercet, approbare imperia sua civibus cupiens; foelix abundè sibi visus, si fortunam suam publicaverit; sermone affabilis, accessuque facilis, vultu qui maximè populos demeretur, amabilis, æquis desideriis propensus, et iniquis acerbus, à totâ civitate amatur, defenditur, colitur. Eadem de illo homines secretò loquuntur, quæ palàm. Tollere filios cupiunt, et publicis malis sterilitas indic-*

ta recluditur ; benè se meriturum de liberis suis quisque non dubitat, quibus tale seculum ostenderit. Hic princeps, suo beneficio tutus, nihil præsidiis eget : Arma ornamenti causâ habet. De Clement. L. I. 13. fin. Page 473.

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(11.) It is evident that Sallust here pursues the same train of thought, as in Sect. IV. of the former Letter, and brings forward the very same topics of accusation and reproach against Pompey personally, and the Patrician faction. It is, however, with this difference, that now he directly names him ; before he only stated the enormities, of which he had been guilty.

Were any other evidence necessary to prove, that Domitius and Carbo, both put to death by Pompey, are the persons intended on the former occasion, the re-mention of them, in such terms, in this Letter, would be sufficient to ascertain the fact. There is another circumstance, now given, which is disgraceful to Pompey, and, in respect to Domitius, has not been preserved by Valerius Maximus or by Plutarch, namely, that he was most ungenerously murdered, after he had laid down his arms, and asked for quarter. The addition, also, of Brutus, another illustrious person, who shared a similar fate, may be considered as illustrative of what has already been advanced.

This person was Marcus Brutus, father to him, who was the nephew of Cato, and the intimate friend of Cicero, and one of the chief accomplices in the assassination of Cæsar. M. Brutus the elder had married Cato's sister Servilia, and embraced the party of Marius. In the time of the tumult excited by Lepidus, he commanded, as Prætor, in Cisalpine Gaul, and brought the province over to Lepidus's interest. On this, being besieged, by Pompey, in Mutina, and betrayed by his troops, Brutus laid down his arms, and surrendered in reliance on the honour of his opponent. But this pupil of Sylla, as Lucan truly calls him, after writing to the Senate, that the Prætor had voluntarily sub-

Page 473. mitted, ordered him to be assassinated without scruple. Brutus appears to have been a man of virtue and talents, every way worthy of his ancestors, and of his posterity. He wrote three Books on Civil Law, besides some other pieces, which Cicero celebrates. See concerning him, Cic. de Orat. L. II. 55. &c.—Plutarch. in Brut.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 811. &c.

Among the "other" persons of consideration, whom our author mentions as having been cut off by Pompey, it is extremely probable, that Perpenna likewise is alluded to. That officer was taken prisoner, in Spain, by Metellus, and delivered up to Pompey, who immediately put him to death. On account of the assassination of Sertorius, perhaps Perpenna might have deserved his fate; but, like Carbo, he had formerly been Pompey's benefactor. See Plutarch. in Sertor.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 30.

From these shocking examples, it cannot seem wonderful, that Sallust should again recur to the topic of Pompey's atrocities, and exult in contrasting the perfidy, ingratitude, and cruelty of such a man, with the munificence and clemency, for which Cæsar was conspicuous. The pointed remark, once applied to him by the historian, and which gave, to his Freedman Lenæus, such extraordinary offence, viz. that he was *Oris probi animo inverecundo* (See Essay First, page 88. in Not.), we may now perceive was nothing less than unmerited. Although with the advantage of a pleasing exterior, he was distinguished by a perfidious temper, and a cruel heart.

(12.) The *Villa Publica* was an extensive edifice in the Campus Martius at Rome, where the ambassadors of foreign nations were usually lodged. The front of the building was decorated with a Portico supported by stately columns, and was thrown open to the public; and the whole was finished with an Attic story above, for greater internal accommodation. A representation of the edifice is still to be seen, upon the reverse of an antient medal of Fonteius Capito.

It may here be remarked, what a perfect silence is observed by Sallust, as to the excesses of the Marian, or popular party, to which he himself and Cæsar were attached. Undoubtedly, in point of extent, they cannot be compared with those of Sylla, and his co-adjutors; the former having been confined chiefly to Rome, whereas the latter were perpetrated throughout Italy, and in almost every province of the empire. Yet Marius was the first, who polluted the city with civil blood, by subjecting it to military licence. Such was the haste of the ferocious old man to get rid of his enemies, that he gave orders to the troops to kill every one, to whom he did not stretch out his hand to kiss, when they approached to salute him. Thus, as Lucan says, Page 475.

Spes una salutis
Oscula pollutæ fixisse trementia dextræ.
Pharsal. L. II. 118.

It is to Sylla, however, and not to Marius, that the honour belongs of first inventing Tables of Proscription, on which the names of persons, destined to death, were inscribed, and the Tables then published. No fewer than 2000 names were in Sylla's first catalogue. Vell. Paterc. L. II. 28. iii.—Flor. L. III. 21.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. I. p. 682. Edit. Toll. *Primus ille, et utinam ultimus!* is the feeling remark of the first mentioned writer: For the example, nearly in his own time, was too faithfully imitated, under Antony and Augustus.

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(13.) By antient institutions, which, he says, were fallen into contempt, are meant the various Sumptuary laws, at different periods enacted, with a view to check luxury and extravagance; such as the Licinian, the Fannian, the Didian, the Orchian, and others to the same purpose. Both Cæsar and Augustus made attempts, as appears by the *Leges Juliæ*, to amend and improve those antient regulations, but, as may easily be conceived, with no great success. See

Page 475. Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. VII. 26. IX. 15. Ad Attic. L. XIII. 7.—Aul. Gell. L. II. 24.—Dion. Cass. L. LIV. 2. &c.

(14.) CÆSAR, upon obtaining the Dictatorship, was ardently solicited to decree a general remission of debts, throughout the state, as had oftener than once been done, in former periods, and as the surest means of gratifying a prodigious number of his needy dependants. But he firmly refused to commit an act of such injustice to the public.

The low state, however, to which credit had then sunk in Italy, demanded some interference of the executive authority. By an ordinance, published soon after his return from Spain, it was permitted to the debtor, by means of arbitrators, to procure a valuation of his property, in order to ascertain its real worth before the war (because, during that period, it had probably been deteriorated); and the creditor was obliged to receive it in payment at this rate; deducting, further, what interest might be due, to the time of the peace. Now, as the war had lasted about two years, and as the interest of money at Rome was at the rate of 12 per cent, besides the equity of the first-mentioned article, the debtor saved, by the second, nearly five-and-twenty per cent, or, in other words, about a fourth part of the sum legally due. This, like most of his other regulations, was both humane and wise, and gave a seasonable relief to a great proportion of the community. *Quum fides* (says he, writing, as usual, in the third person, concerning himself) *totâ Italiâ esset angustior, neque creditæ pecuniæ solverentur, constituit (Cæsar), ut arbitri darentur. Per eos fierent æstimationes possessionum et rerum, quanti quæque earum ante bellum fuissent, atque eæ creditoribus transderentur. Hoc et ad timorem novarum tabularum tollendum minuendumque, qui ferè bella, et civiles dissensiones sequi consuevit, et ad debitorum tuendam existimationem, esse aptissimum, existimavit.* De Bel. Civil. L. III. 1. *De pecuniis mutuis, disjectâ novarum tabularum expectatione, quæ*

crebrò movebatur, decrevit tandem, ut debitores creditoribus satisfacerent, per æstimationem possessionum, quanti quasque ante civile bellum comparâssent, deducto summæ æris alieni, si quid usuræ nomine numeratum, aut perscriptum fuisset. Sueton. in Cæs. XLII. Page 476. 477.

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(15.) It was to the honour of Cæsar, that he acted up to this excellent admonition. But the disinterestedness of his conduct, however useful to the commonwealth, proved, in the end, fatal to himself, by alienating, and disappointing a crowd of unprincipled adherents. The reflections of Seneca on his noble disposition, and their insatiable appetites, are so perfectly just, that I shall present them entire to the reader. *Carissimis irascimur; quòd minora nobis præstiterint, quàm mente concepimus, quàm quæ alii tulerint; cùm utriusque rei paratum remedium sit. Magìs alteri indulsit? nostra nos sine comparatione delectent: Nunquam erit foelix, quem torquebit foelicior. Minus habeo quàm speravi? sed fortasse plus speravi quàm debui. Hæc pars maximè metuenda est; hinc perniciosissimæ iræ nascuntur, et sanctissima quæque invasuræ. Divum Julium plures amici confecerunt, quàm inimici, quorum non expleverat spes inexplebiles. Voluit quidem ille: Neque enim quisquam liberaliùs victoriâ usus est, ex quâ nihil sibi vindicavit, nisi dispensandi potestatem. Sed quemadmodum sufficere tam improbis desideriis posset, cùm tantum omnes concupiscerent, quantum poterat unus? Vidit, itaque, strictis circa sellam suam gladiis, et commilitones suos, aliosque, post Pompeium, demum Pompeianos.* De Irâ, L. III. 30.

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(16.) It must be confessed, that this language is neither very correct, nor philosophical; and there is a passage, as we have seen, in Letter First, to the same effect. That every moral evil proceeds from avarice, and other bad passions of the human heart, is certainly true:

Page 477. But money no more produces moral evil, than gold and silver produce the real wealth of the country, in which they are in use. Had Cæsar, by a single act of his Dictatorial power, abolished these, and substituted, in their room, the iron money of Lycurgus, he might, in some degree, have perplexed the common business, and the money transactions of Rome, but without circumscribing the vices of the commonwealth. Men would again have been driven to the necessity, as in early times, of bartering commodities, but they would have continued to apply them to the same uses or abuses of cultivated life. This is somewhat like the popular notion of those, who make the wealth of a state to consist in the mere possession of the precious metals, without reflecting, that they are nothing more than its conventional sign; and that they operate, in fact, in a double capacity, both as the instrument of commerce, and the measure of value. Wealth, as Mr Hobbes well says, is power; and the man, who possesses it in the greatest degree, possesses the greatest command over the productive labour of others. Even popularly speaking, Sallust seems to have desired of his patron an absurdity, if not an impossibility; and that his patron was too judicious not to perceive, as well as himself.

What follows is truly practical, and far more to the purpose. He strenuously urges a reform of the manners, in order to check the growth of luxury and vice. He presses the importance of endeavouring to substitute noble, worthy, and useful pursuits, for such as are frivolous and pernicious, and to commence the whole at the proper point, the informing the minds, and regulating the education of youth; by the neglect of which morals had been poisoned at the fountain-head. These were, indeed, efficacious methods of lessening moral evil, among a cultivated people.

In the time of Sallust, the Roman boy was not yet entrusted, as in that of Pliny and Quintilian, to Greek slaves, and empty rhetoricians: But the age of virtuous and *home* tuition was past; and the assiduity of the matron, in that delightful employment, began to be

transferred to other objects. At the close of the Republic, there were Page 477.
few, who could boast the early advantages, enjoyed by the Lælii and the Gracchi, or could be said to have been trained up, *In gremio, et in sermone matris.* Somewhat, however, might still have been done, by a judicious policy, and wise institutions, backed, as was probable, against the corruption of the times, by despotic power; one of the few useful objects, which it seems calculated to promote. But all these, and other hopes were unfortunately cut off, by the loss of the only person, who had the desire, or the talents to carry the scheme into execution.

In considering the Letters ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT, addressed, by our author, to this extraordinary man, we cannot but be struck with the singular effect, which the admonitions of the former appear to have produced, upon the councils and conduct of the latter; or at least the coincidence, which must have existed in their sentiments, and also in those of Augustus, on some of the most important topics of political arrangement, or of moral discipline.

It may be the result of early partiality, perhaps of classical prejudices; but I cannot help considering Cæsar, with all his faults, as the greatest man, that ever sat upon the throne of a kingdom. The number of excellent regulations, which he contrived to crowd into his short, but illustrious reign, are truly wonderful, and indeed exceed in utility those of many princes, who have held the sceptre, to the uttermost extent of human life. Nor am I willing to make an exception even in favour of Augustus. It has been the fashion to admire, and, as I think, to overrate the talents of that emperor, in comparing him with the Dictator; an opinion so opposite to that of antient times, when he was always regarded as immeasurably his inferior. In such an estimate, however, we are too apt to consider rather their several fortunes, than their actual merits, as princes, or as men. We dwell only on the de-

Page 477. structive wars, occasioned by the ambition of the one, and the auspicious calm, the political prosperity, and, above all, the literary splendour, which have adorned, and immortalized the reign of the other. But, had the life of Cæsar fortunately been protracted to a later period, he would have left Augustus but little to do, and become as much the benefactor, as he certainly was the destroyer of the human race.

END OF THE NOTES ON THE EPISTLES TO CÆSAR,

AND OF

VOLUME FIRST.

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